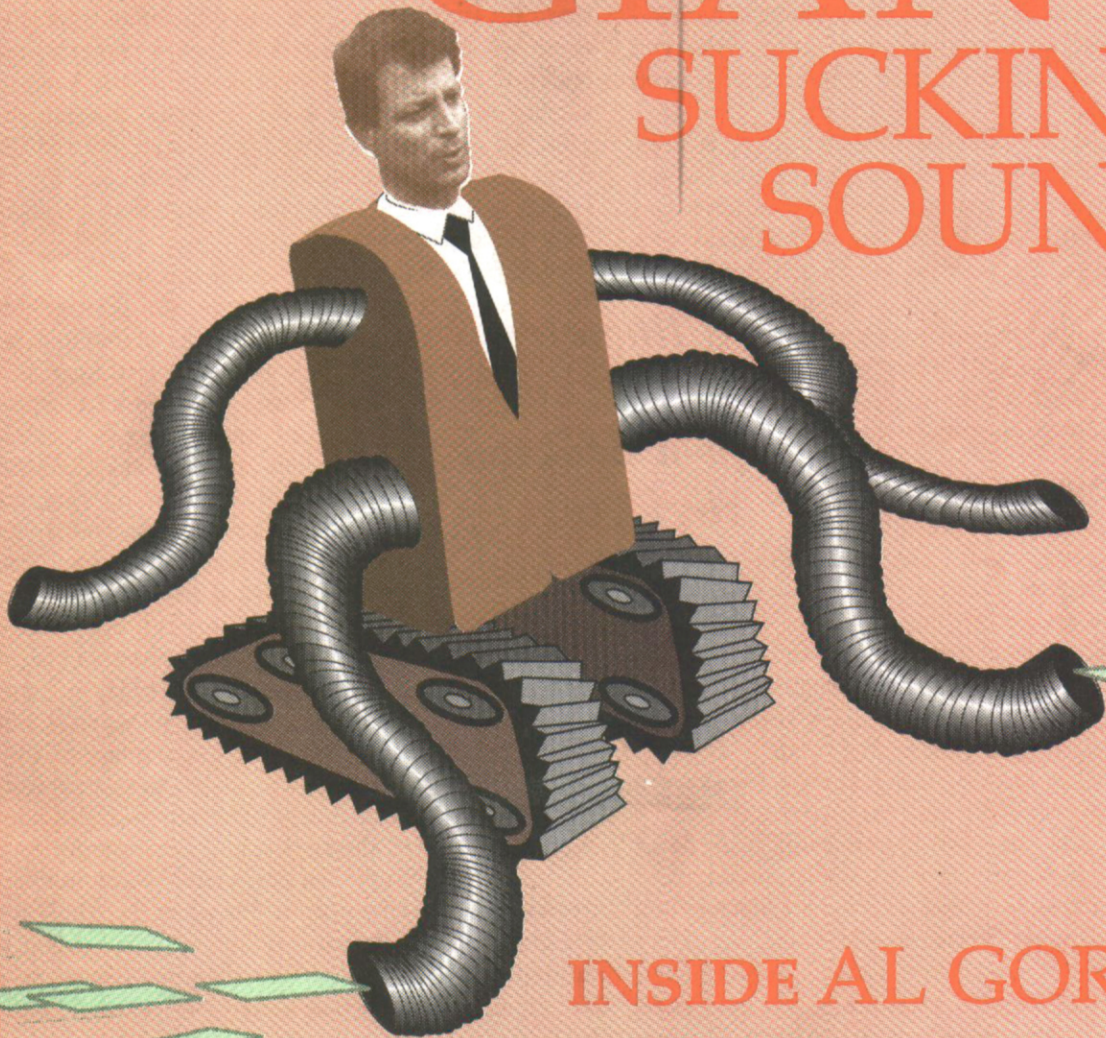


WHO WILL RUN THE CIA?

April 28-May 11, 1997

# IN THESE TIMES

## THE GIANT SUCKING SOUND



### INSIDE AL GORE'S INSATIABLE FUNDRAISING MACHINE

**Ken Silverstein and  
Jeffrey St. Clair report**

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# E D I T O R I A L

## CHALLENGING CORPORATE POWER

**W**hat do the Arizona doctors who in 1995 sold their shares in an HMO to a California corporation for \$3.2 million each have in common with clerks at a Borders Books and Music store in Chicago who make \$6.50 an hour?

They have both recently voted to join unions. The doctors, who work at the Thomas-Davis Medical Centers in Tucson, voted 93-32 in January to join the Federation of Physicians and Dentists, an AFSCME affiliate (see "White coats with blue collars," by Annette Fuentes, March 3). Specialists at Tucson's oldest and most prestigious medical clinic, they are the first group of physicians at a for-profit HMO to unionize. They have not banded together to get higher wages—they're all millionaires—but because they want to be good doctors.

They complain that their HMO's new, profit-driven corporate owner, Foundation Health Plans, has imposed rules that lower standards of treatment and require a suffocating increase in paperwork. One doctor says that the company told him to increase his patient load from 1,800 to 2,200, which means that patients must wait longer for appointments or must be sent to the clinic's urgent-care center in an emergency. Time is wasted filling out the paperwork required for everything from referrals to prescribing medication. Complicated procedures now require corporate approval, which wastes more time.

These specialists are not unique. Everywhere, doctors find their authority to make decisions shrinking. As Barry Liebowitz, president of the Doctors Council in New York, told the *New York Times*: "Doctors are having gag orders and drive-through mastectomies imposed on them. They are finding themselves in an economic morass, where professional control translates into economic control." As a result, Liebowitz says, interest in unionization has "increased exponentially in the last six months."

At Borders, of course, the clerks are not millionaires. They barely get by on \$6.50 an hour, and their union election, which they won by a vote of 28-17, was in large part over wages. But Borders is to bookselling as corporate HMOs are

to medical care. The Chicago workers are the first to organize a union in a national bookstore chain (though since their October victory, workers at two Borders stores in other states have also voted for unionization).

Clerks in small, independent bookstores don't earn high wages, but the job is attractive in other respects. Workers are often immersed in the literature they are selling. They use this knowledge to participate in decisions about what books the store should carry and to recommend to customers what books to read. Such stores carry books of special quality or authority, even if they sell slowly.

In the new superstores that are driving independent bookstores out of business, things are different. Clerks have little or no voice and less discretion when it comes to ordering books. Knowledge and love of literature may be as much a liability as an asset. The lowest common denominator prevails. All that matters is the bottom line. For the clerks at Borders, having a union means having a voice for the first time. It means becoming a citizen rather than a cipher in the corporate world.

*Millionaire  
doctors and  
poor bookstore  
clerks see  
unionization  
as the best  
way to defend  
their interests.*

Though far apart on the social scale—in their levels of education, income and prestige—doctors and bookstore clerks share the experience of recently becoming victims of the inexorable invasion of corporate capital into every nook and cranny of modern life. And, as has been true since industrialization began, those whose lives are most disrupted are also the most likely to attempt to protect themselves by forming unions.

We now live in a society where virtually everything is corrupted by the values imposed by corporate bottom lines. Half a century ago, in the heyday of unionism, corporate treatment of workers was partially humanized in the face of the organized power of working people. Then, too, during the early years of the Cold

War, the perceived threat of a global alternative to corporate capitalism also pushed our rulers toward more humane treatment of working people. But when the AFL-CIO leadership became a partisan in the Cold War, joining wholeheartedly in the defense of international capital, it helped undermine working people's interests worldwide. And when Soviet Communism collapsed as a result of its own internal corruption, so too did the idea of a viable alternative to corporate power.

Now the union movement appears to understand the need to challenge corporate power at home and abroad. It is beginning to revitalize, both on the organizing and political fronts. Politically, however, we still see no vision of a good society, and no true alternative to free-market ideology. To develop and propagate such a vision is the task of the left. ◀

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 "...with liberty and justice for all"

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# LETTERS

## Healthy skepticism

In "The limits of managed-care reform" (March 31), Ron Bigler accepts without question and before the fact the insurance industry's claim that any future increases in health care costs will be the result of modest regulatory efforts.

Managed-care premiums increased just as rapidly as traditional indemnity insurance plans throughout the '80s. Analysts such as David Himmelstein and Steffie Woolhandler of Physicians for a National Health Program (not "Plan," as you mistakenly identified it) have long argued that a shift to managed care should yield a one-time reduction in health-care costs of about 7 percent per person, but have no necessary impact on the long-term rate of health care inflation.

In keeping with this prediction, the rapid shift to managed care in the last four years may have slowed the rate of

increase in national health care costs, aided by a "good behavior effect" in an insurance industry faced with federal legislation in 1993-94.

Some fine health care analysts are skeptical of this view. Edie Russell of the Economic Policy Institute argued last fall that corporate managed-care operators will be able to squeeze costs out of the system almost indefinitely. But in a recent *New England Journal of Medicine* article, Woolhandler and Himmelstein cite several key factors—including drastic reductions in managed-care profit margins—that could herald double-digit health care inflation.

We don't know what the future holds. Until it arrives, Bigler might want to show a touch more skepticism of the insurance industry's self-serving bleats about the financial cost of regulation.

John P. Canham-Clyne  
Washington, D.C.

## Clinton not off the hook on Israel

Your March 31 editorial, "The conspiracy against peace in Israel," quite properly upbraids the Clinton administration for its veto of the Security Council resolution condemning construction of Jewish housing in East Jerusalem. But then you conclude, "No one can stop the further deterioration of peace except Netanyahu."

You are wrong. Clinton could stop it by ending loan guarantees and other subsidies to Israel, as Bush would have done. Why are we not putting more pressure on Clinton to act responsibly in support of peace in the Middle East?

Economic leverage by the United States could force Netanyahu's hand or shift control from the religious right to the silent majority of Israelis that support a land-for-peace paradigm.

Bernard Feldman  
Watsonville, Calif.

## Academia's failure

John Palattella's review of Cary Nelson's books on the academic job market ("The third degree," April 14) raises some important questions about the treatment of graduate students as labor. I was lucky enough to attend a graduate school in Canada that had a union for teaching assistants, so I am

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





aware of the importance of such organizations. Graduate students are often exploited, and I support the efforts of teaching assistants to organize for better pay and conditions.

Still, I think your review gave short shrift to the situation of part-time faculty. Perhaps this was because the graduate students' action at Yale involved students from an elite private university, whereas many part-timers teach at community colleges and less prestigious colleges and universities.

However, having been on both sides of this fence, I believe that the exploitation of part-time faculty is even more severe than that of graduate students. Many part-time faculty are paid \$2,000 or less per course, often without benefits or pensions. Working conditions are often poor, with cramped or nonexistent office space, large class sizes, or excessive work loads.

Making a living on part-time wages is virtually impossible unless one teaches five, six or more courses at several locations. Part-time faculty have little or no job protection. Unlike full-time faculty, they can often be dismissed without cause or hearing if they offend the powers that be, and they are often treated by their full-time "colleagues" as temporary, second-class citizens in academia, no matter what their qualifications. One of my department chairs used to continually tell my part-time colleagues and me how lucky we were to have jobs. Another, when confronted about the low salaries we were paid—much lower than the \$2,000 cited above—called on us to be dedicated to our profession.

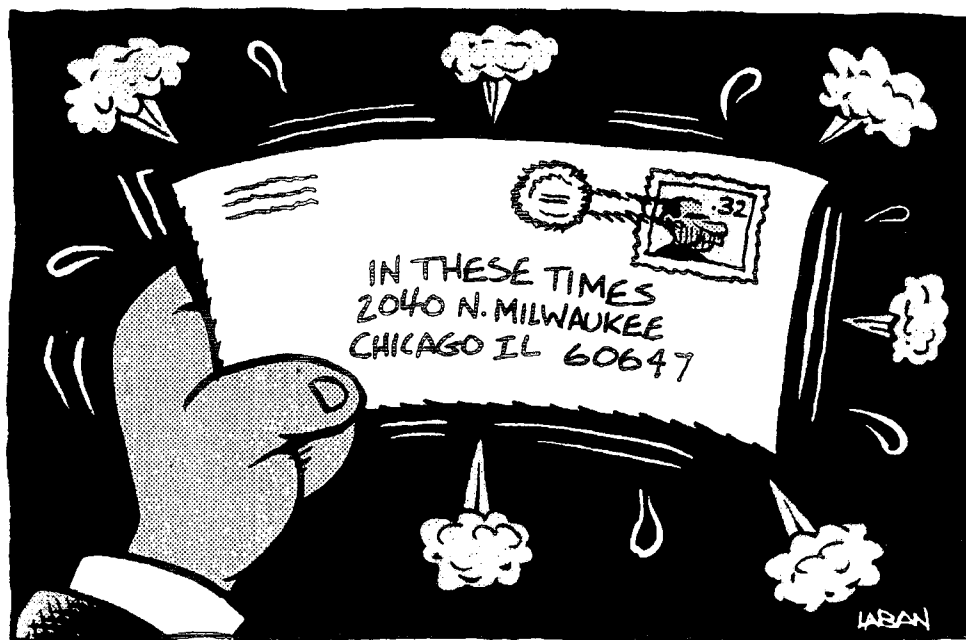
In the coming battles over tenure and employment conditions, full-time faculty will need the support of graduate students and part-time faculty. Yet they show little interest in fighting for the protection of all who teach in academia. Many faculty, of all political stripes, want the prestige they believe comes with a tenured position,

and think that others don't really deserve it. Too many want to retain the current two-tier system of academic employment. Such an attitude does not merit the support of teaching assistants and part-timers who deserve basic protections and benefits.

The only solution is for part-timers and teaching assistants to organize on their own for fair wages, benefits and working conditions.

Brian Caterino  
Rochester, N.Y.

"Globalization," referring to the trend toward extra-nationality of goods and production, is certainly one of the most important economic concepts of all time. It is marked by the loss of corporate responsibility to and for the people who work for companies or buy their products, as well as an escape from the laws, rules and regulations developed by societies for their own protection. Corporations are becoming answerable only to inter-



## Paying attention to globalization

It was hard to tell which side won your debate on globalization ("Does globalization matter?" March 31) because it was difficult to figure out just what either debater wanted to communicate.

Henwood begins with the specious suggestion that technological change between 1897 and 1947 was "a lot more" than between 1947 and 1997. Actually, the technological change in going from the aircraft in use in 1947 to taking men to the moon in spaceships is probably at least a thousand times greater than the change from horse and buggy to transcontinental flight.

national bodies, which they control. Henwood says we should "stop talking about globalization." Is this the Doug Henwood of the *Left Business Observer*, or of the *Neocon Business Observer*?

Hector Figueroa is right about the mistake of debating whether domestic or international issues are more important. If you rock one end of the boat, you rock the other.

Steve Juniper  
Berkeley, Calif.

## Correction

John Palattella's review of *Will Teach for Food: Academic Labor in Crisis*, edited by Cary Nelson, mistakenly referred to the book as *Will Work for Food*.

# InSHORT



Ronald Reagan, former undersecretary of education under William Bennett, outspoken supporter of Buchanan's presidential candidacy, and current president of the Christian right-wing Family Research Council (FRC)—the Campaign for Working Families appears to be a none-too-subtle ploy to lure workers into the conservative Christian orbit.

Labor insiders say the new PAC may be used to fleece workers for money to defeat the AFL-CIO's own American Working Families Agenda, which calls for, among other things, universal health care and higher wages. Like Buchanan, Bauer regards workplace and other economic issues as potential fault lines for his own constituency—which contains many working-class families—as well as a growing liability for Republicans. In a speech last November before the Heritage Foundation, Bauer challenged the GOP to redirect its economic policy toward working- and middle-class families.

On March 20, Bauer issued a press release backing the so-called Working Families Flexibility Act, a Republican-sponsored bill that would offer comp time as a substitute for overtime pay. Organized labor fiercely opposes the bill, arguing that employers will be free to coerce workers to opt for comp time—and then restrict them from taking it.

"FRC is basically a research arm for the Christian right," says Bill Hamilton, director of government

## Wooing working families

**D**uring the 1996 presidential campaign, Pat Buchanan proved that populist rhetoric can make even an anti-labor conservative look like a champion of working families. Buchanan's pitchfork populism apparently worked so well that the religious right is getting into the act. Shortly after last November's elections, conservative Christian stalwart Gary Bauer set up a political action committee called the Campaign for Working Families; within six weeks, the organization raised \$130,000, according to Federal Election Commission documents.

This has left many in the labor movement—the real one, that is—wondering what Bauer's got up his sleeve. Given his political dossier—one-time domestic policy advisor to

affairs for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. "Their idea of a family agenda is to keep women home, barefoot and pregnant, and to keep men at work, poor but earnest."

Bauer is a major figure in the religious right's extraordinarily influential political empire. He has built the Washington, D.C.-based FRC into a multimillion-dollar operation with a mailing list of hundreds of thousands and a full-time lobbying arm called American Renewal. Until 1992, the FRC was part of Christian impresario James Dobson's Focus on the Family, a massive nonprofit bulwark of the religious right with 1,300 employees and an annual budget of more than \$100 million. The two groups have separated, although Dobson, a conservative radio personality with an

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estimated 2 million listeners, is still on the FRC board.

The Campaign for Working Families seems poised to recruit new members, particularly urban, working-class Catholics. The PAC's president, Jeffrey Bell, serves on the advisory board of the Rev. Pat Robertson's Catholic Alliance, a front organization of the Christian Coalition used to reach out to—and solicit funding and political support from—conservative Catholics. Since 1988, Bell has also served as president of Lehrman Bell Mueller Cannon Inc., an influential, conservative consulting firm based in Arlington, Va. Frank Cannon, a member of the firm and formerly the head of Students for Reagan, serves as the PAC's secretary-treasurer.

It is no coincidence that the Campaign for Working Families was founded in the wake of an election season in which labor won a minimum-wage increase and helped win Bill Clinton a second term. A general anti-corporate mood has settled on the nation, and neither party has figured out how to make use of it. As Buchanan showed in 1996, the beleaguered American public is susceptible to false prophets. Labor would be wise to keep its eye on Gary Bauer.

—Alfred Ross and Jim Young

## South Side story

The South Side neighborhood of Bridgeport has long symbolized two things to Chicagoans: political clout and racism. The spawning ground of five of the city's last eight mayors—including the late machine boss Richard J. Daley and his son and heir, Richard M.—the neighborhood is also one of the last redoubts of the white working class in the increasingly black South Side. Bridgeport is a turf-conscious community, characterized by one-family bungalows and tidy lawns, disproportionate numbers of city workers and the mythic presence of the White Sox's Comiskey Park.

A quarter of a mile east are the concrete and brick high-rises of Stateway Gardens and the Robert Taylor Homes, the country's largest public housing development and, according to urbanologists, its poorest neighborhood. Like rigid sentries, the towers extend for miles along the so-called State Street Corridor, enforcing the isolation of the poor residents trapped within.

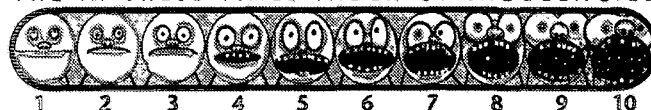
Between these two very different neighborhoods runs the Dan Ryan Expressway, built by Daley senior, some speculate, to act as a buffer between Bridgeport and the ghetto. For the most part, the expressway has served that purpose. Occasionally, however, adventurous blacks from east of the Ryan are violently reminded that they are not wanted.

On March 21, Lenard Clark, a 13-year-old black boy, was beaten nearly to death in Armour Square Park, a small enclave on the fringes of Bridgeport, in what police report

*Continued on page 9*

## APPALL-O-METER

THE IN THESE TIMES INDEX OF INDECENCIES



By David Futrelle

### Sex bomb 7.8

Israel has a secret weapon in its arsenal that gives it an unfair advantage in its "cold peace" with the Arab world, Egyptian writers are charging. No, not its atom bomb—its brunette bombshells. According to The Associated Press, Cairo bookstalls are filled these days with titles presenting strange mixtures of conspiracy theory and salacious sexual innuendo, alleging that "Israel is using its women to corrupt Muslim youth, recruit spies, control Arab politicians or somehow get an edge over the Arabs in the Middle East peace process." Among the current titles:

*Searching for Peace with Sex and The Hookers'*

*War: Jewish Women and Arab Politicians.* "Sex is more dangerous than nuclear weapons," writes Amr Nassef, author of *Normalization With Sex.* "Israel has been using this weapon to confront us for some time."



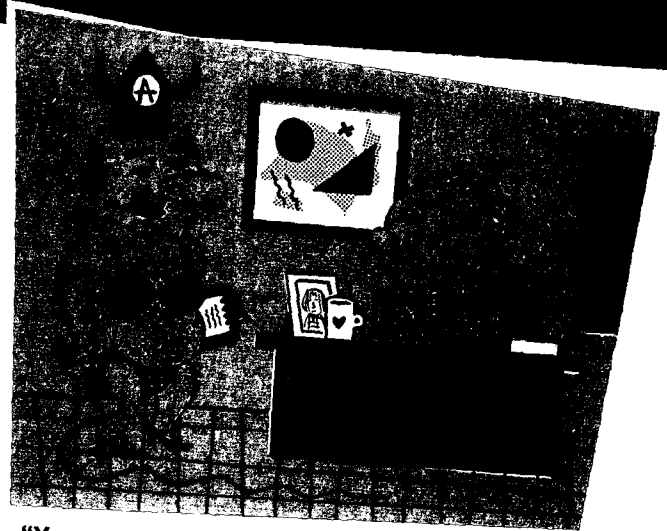
### Get thee behind me, day care! 7.3

In an attempt to stem the rising tide of corruption in the U.S., the First Baptist Church of Berryville, Ark., recently shut down its day-care facilities for working mothers. "God intended for the home to be the center of a mother's world," a letter from Pastor Clyde Gray explained. Working mothers, he suggested, "neglect their children, damage their marriages and set a bad example." What of those who say they need two salaries to survive? Gray will have none of it. Any family can survive on a husband's salary if people would give up such hedonistic luxuries as "big TVs, a microwave, new clothes, eating out and nice vacations."

### Rising sons 8.4

Militias aren't just for Americans anymore. According to a recent report in the *Washington Post*, right-wing militias—camouflage outfits, guns and all—have now taken root in Japan. Police estimate there are as many as 100,000 of these nationalist paramilitary activists, who over the last several years have, among other things, shot and wounded politicians and political enemies, taken hostages, and firebombed the parliament building. Of course, leave it to the Japanese to do the militia thing in their own inimitable style. At one March demonstration, 180 militia "soldiers" in fatigues climbed into 50 armored sound trucks, which they used to surround the building where a political enemy happened to be. "Screeching through loudspeakers atop the trucks so loudly that the assembled riot police covered their ears, they called the politician's name over and over for two hours," the *Post* reports. Their chant? "Hatoyama! Kill yourself! Hatoyama! Resign! Hatoyama! Kill! Kill! Hatoyama! Smash him to death!" Catchy.

# THE BIG PICTURE



"Yes, yes, Jenkins, I understand... But, you see, when we say 'casual Friday,' we don't actually mean 'casual Friday.'"



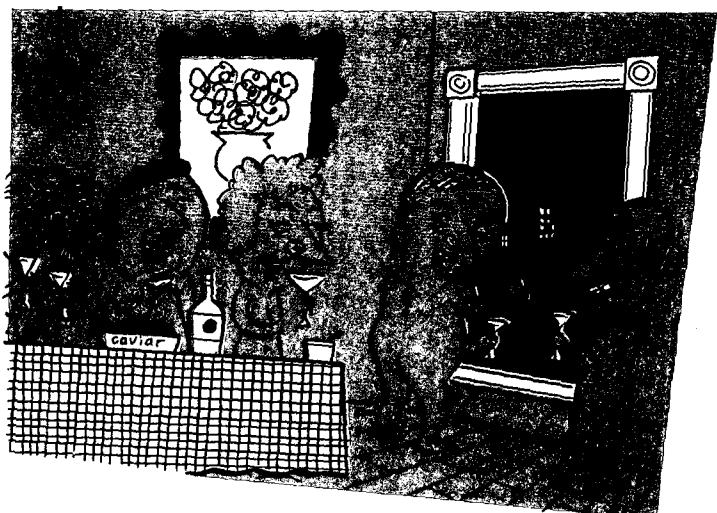
"He tried to start a union."



"YO YO YO, Dwaaaaayne!  
Wussup, mah brutha?"



"Oh, that Dilbert!"



"HA HA! It's the poor... They're all killing each other again."



Continued from page 7

was a racially motivated attack. Clark, incapacitated with severe brain injuries, is now being treated at the Rehabilitation Institute of Chicago.

Clark and his 13-year-old friend Clevean Nicholson used to pedal to Bridgeport, six blocks west of their home in Stateway Gardens, to fill their bike tires with free air; service stations in their own neighborhood charge a quarter for air. Friends and relatives repeatedly warned the boys about Bridgeport's legendary antipathy toward blacks, but youthful impetuosity and slow tire leaks kept them going back.

Last month, their luck ran out. After a pick-up game of basketball in a park, the two were assaulted by a mob of whites shouting racist epithets. Nicholson escaped, barely, but the group caught Clark and nearly beat him to death. They rammed his head into a wall, stomped and pummeled him into a coma and left him bleeding in an alley.

Forty-eight hours after the crime, police arrested three white teenagers—Michael Kwidzinski, 19, Victor Jasas, 17, and Frank Caruso, 17—and charged them with attempted murder, aggravated battery and hate crime. All three have denied involvement in the beating.

Black Chicagoans have always regarded Bridgeport as hostile territory. Late last year, a court awarded hefty damages to an African-American truck driver and a mail carrier who were victims of racially motivated attacks in the neighborhood. Two Chicago cops were disciplined in the late '80s for illegally detaining two black youths and abandoning them in Bridgeport; young blacks have long complained of this sort of abuse by police.

In the past decade, Bridgeport's "white ethnic" composi-

## Lifestyles of the rich and convicted

"FOR THOSE OF US WHO KNOW WHAT THE GOOD LIFE IS LIKE, THERE IS nothing easy about serving federal time," writes embezzler Ronald TerMeer in *Doing Federal Time*, his self-published guide to survival in a federal pen. TerMeer recommends that executives under investigation or awaiting conviction prepare

themselves for the vicissitudes of the long stretch ahead: "Spend quality time with your wife and children (you will miss them later). ... Learn to be tolerant of frustrated ex-military or overpaid rent-a-cops." Most important, corporate miscreants should keep in mind that, rumors to the contrary, a prison is not a country club; they let anybody in. "The federal system is overcrowded with young, boisterous drug



dealers," TerMeer writes. "The noise in the housing units is obnoxious. Most of the crowd is rude and inconsiderate." Finally, keep an eye on the Rolex. "Always remember you are living with criminals," TerMeer writes. "Anything you leave lying around will be fair game to be stolen." —Joel Bleifuss

tion has begun to give way. There is a gentrifying population of young white professionals who value the area's proximity to downtown, but many middle-class residents have been leaving for the greener (read whiter) pastures of the suburbs, in the traditional pattern of white flight. In their stead, Asians and Latinos have established a firm foothold in the community. But it remains relatively closed to blacks. Like Clark and Nicholson, who had no access to basketball courts and free air pumps in their own resource-poor community, older residents at Stateway Gardens must risk indignity and contempt to shop in Bridgeport.

## Partners in addiction

COMMON SENSE FOR DRUG POLICY, AN ORGANIZATION BASED IN FALLS CHURCH, VA., HAS RELEASED A HARPER'S-LIKE "Index on Kids and Anti-Drug Campaigns" that exposes the Partnership for a Drug-Free America for the sham it is. Among the index's most salient facts:

Total number of deaths annually caused by all illegal drugs combined: 14,000

Total number of deaths annually caused by tobacco: 400,000

Amount of money donated in broadcast time and print space to the Partnership for a Drug-Free America in 1996: \$265 million

Percentage of TV ads produced by the Partnership for a Drug-Free America that warn of the dangers of tobacco: 0

Total number of deaths annually from alcohol: 100,000

Percentage of TV ads produced by the Partnership for a Drug-Free America that warn of the dangers of alcohol: 0

Annual television revenues from beer advertising: \$625 million

—J.B.



City officials reacted to Clark's beating in the way public servants usually do—horrified, ashamed, but blind to the deeper structural problem at hand. Widening class divisions are aggravating racial hatred, and it will take a lot more than hand wringing and symbolic gestures by the city government to turn things around.

—Salim Muwakkil

## The FMLN rebounds in El Salvador

**E**ven though the polls had hinted at it, the strong performance in the March 16 elections by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) took most Salvadorans by surprise. The left-wing political party of former guerrillas doubled its representation in the National Assembly and won the mayoralties in cities where nearly half the country's population lives.

"I thought we'd do better than last time, but I never expected anything like this," says party member Vladimir Centeno.

Though FMLN members were jubilant about their showing, they had no illusions about its meaning. It was less an affirmation of them than a stunning rejection of the incumbent Nationalist Republican Alliance (Arena) party. Voters turned against Arena in large part because of the government's perceived incompetence and the failure of its neoliberal economic model to improve or even maintain the living conditions of the country's poor and middle class.

This was the first such defeat for the right-wing party founded by Roberto D'Aubuisson, a cashiered army officer who, according to a U.N.-sponsored truth commission, was deeply involved with death squads and the 1980 killing of Archbishop Oscar Romero.

In the 1994 national elections, Arena's Armando Calderón Sol won the presidency in a landslide, and the party won 39 of the 84 seats in the National Assembly. This time, it won only 28 seats, one more than the FMLN.

While some Arena leaders tried to play down the election

results, others acknowledged the voters' rebuke. "They have sent the party and the government a message," says party leader and Interior Minister Mario Acosta Oertel. "Our people who went out to vote in 1994 had good reason for not voting this year."

The Democratic Party (PD), led by Joaquín Villalobos and Ana Guadalupe Martínez and made up of two ex-guerrilla groups that split off from the FMLN in 1994, fared so badly that it will be dissolved, unless a proposed change in Salvadoran electoral law spares it that fate. Current law requires that a party get 3 percent of the total vote cast in order to stay in existence. The PD got only 1.2 percent.

Even if it manages to hang on, the PD appears to have been seriously if not irreparably damaged by its leaders' virulent attacks against their former FMLN colleagues. Arena, too, conducted a smear campaign against the FMLN, saturating the media with lurid spots about the group's role in the country's 12-year civil war. But this negative focus appeared to boomerang.

"The voters were sickened by the negative campaigning," says Jorge Martínez, leader of the Unity Movement, a progressive evangelical party. "It was like kicking a pile of manure. The more you stir it up, the more it stinks."

The parties have already begun to jockey for position in the National Assembly. The legislature has 84 members, and since neither Arena nor the FMLN has the 43 votes needed to pass legislation, some deals will have to be struck.

With the next presidential elections two years away, pundits have already begun to wonder out loud about who the main candidates might be. With no obvious successor to Calderón Sol in the wings, some party members say it may be necessary to call on former President Alfredo Cristiani to make another run for the office—in spite of his unpopularity with the party's more hard-line segments.

San Salvador mayor-elect Hector Silva could be a compelling opposition candidate. This time, he headed a coalition that included the FMLN and two smaller, left-of-center parties. If he performs well as mayor, he could win the backing of a broader coalition in the presidential race, and follow the path of Calderón Sol and José Napoleón Duarte from the mayor's office to the presidential palace.

—Gene Palumbo

## Separatism's final frontier

WHILE MUCH OF HUMANITY IS SPOOKED BY THE PROSPECT OF HUMAN CLONING, RECENT BREAKTHROUGHS IN genetic engineering have many lesbians and gays elated. Jorjet Harper writes in *Outlines*: "It is now technically feasible for two women to have a child that is a mixture of their genes, just as heterosexuals do. Such a procedure is just as simple, if not simpler, than cloning. It will be a bit more complicated to produce a child that is genetically the offspring of two men, but this possibility too is now on the reproductive horizon."

In more radical lesbian circles, some observers herald the prospect of nonsexual reproduction as nothing less than the twilight of the male sex. Cloning is "a potential power shift of volcanic proportions," lesbian talk-show host Ann Northrop told *Gay Today*. "Men are now totally irrelevant. ... [They] are going to have a very hard time justifying their existence on the planet." —J.B.



# Disorderly conduct

In the bad old days of Chicago law enforcement, police officers did more than just "preserve disorder," as Mayor Richard J. Daley put it in his infamous malapropism. They created it, too. A 1975 grand jury investigation found that, in addition to conducting widespread surveillance of groups as various as the Black Panthers and the PTA, the Chicago Police Department infiltrated and sabotaged political organizations. In one notorious case, police recruited a *Chicago Tribune* reporter to help discredit a Puerto Rican political organization.

In 1974, the Alliance to End Repression, an organization representing people targeted by police for surveillance, sued the city of Chicago to stop police intelligence operations. Months later, the American Civil Liberties Union filed a similar suit. The cases were resolved in 1982, when the city agreed to pay damages and abide by a consent decree regulating the police force's power to investigate activity related to the First Amendment. The decree forbids the police from conducting such investigations without reasonable suspicion of criminal intent and puts tight restrictions on intelligence-gathering methods.

The city now claims that the consent decree is unduly burdensome to the Chicago police. On March 6, the city filed a motion to modify the consent decree to allow the Chicago Police Department a freer rein to investigate street-gang activity, organized crime, hate crime, terrorism and other threats to public safety. Specifically, the city is asking for permission to videotape demonstrations and gang activity and to share information with a statewide gang database.

"Every other city in the country has broader powers," Mayor Richard M. Daley argued at a press conference on March 6. "But when it comes to the city of Chicago, we cannot do it."

Other parties to the consent decree smell a rat. "I think they want to gather intelligence without any oversight," says Harvey Grossman, legal director of the ACLU in Chicago. Grossman argues that the consent decree does not prohibit the Chicago police from compiling information for a gang database. The ACLU filed a motion asking the judge to issue a preliminary injunction to prevent the city from modifying the decree.

On April 16, a group of indepen-

dent journalists and political organizations filed a 19-page enforcement proceeding alleging that police violated the consent decree during the 1996 Democratic National Convention. During demonstrations outside the convention, the motion states, police searched vans belonging to the grassroots media collective Countermedia, smashed cameras and destroyed film, and arrested seven Countermedia journalists and interrogated about them about lawful political activities. None of the arrests resulted in convictions.

The city maintains that it has scrupulously obeyed the decree for the past 15 years. But some observers say the police have merely become more skillful at hiding their political surveillance. "Some of the things the police did in the old days were stupid," says Emile Schepers, once a surveillance target and now program director of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. "In some ways, the consent decree did the police the favor of streamlining their operation."

—Dave Mulcahey

## CONTRIBUTORS

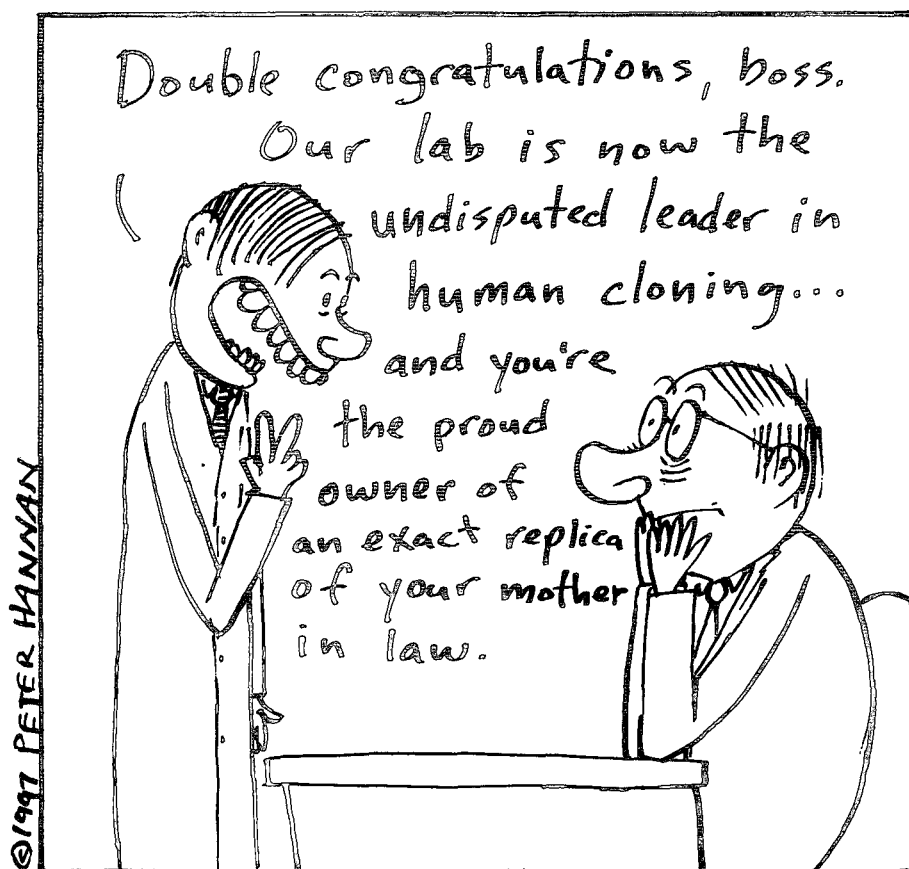
Alfred Ross is executive director of the Center for Democracy Studies, a nonprofit research organization in New York City.

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## THE ADVENTURES OF A HUGE MOUTH

By Peter Hannan



# THE FIRST STONE

## RADIOACTIVE SLUDGE

By Joel Bleifuss

**I**n 1993, the Environmental Protection Agency redefined sewage sludge, transforming it from a regulated waste into an unregulated fertilizer. That attempt at linguistic detoxification is now reaching its logical—and absurd—conclusion in Colorado.

The EPA has secretly approved a scheme to pipe plutonium-contaminated waste from the Lowry Landfill Superfund Site to a sewage treatment plant operated by the Metro Waste Water Reclamation District, the Denver-area public sewer works. This Superfund waste will flow through municipal sewer lines to the Metro plant, where it will be treated like all other sewage. The liquid portion of the treated sewage will be discharged into the South Platte River, and the remaining sludge—or “beneficial biosolids,” as the EPA calls this waste product—will be sold to the public as MetroGro fertilizer for \$2 per 20-pound bag or \$20 a ton. Sludge not sold will be applied as “fertilizer” on a 41,000-acre wheat farm owned by Metro near the town of Deer Trail, east of Denver.

Each year, about 4 million tons of municipal sludge—about half of the total produced annually by the 15,000 publicly owned sewer plants in the United States—are dumped on farm land. That sludge is derived chiefly from human excreta and from the water wastes of 130,000 industrial plants. The 1993 revision of Section 503 of the Clean Water Act, which deals with sludge, increased the limits of acceptable exposure to some toxins, thereby insuring that most of the nation’s sludge could be classified as “clean” (see “The First Stone,” October 16, 1995; May 27, 1996; and June 10, 1996). Typically, municipal sewer sludge contains dangerous pesticides such as chlordane, chlorinated compounds like dioxin, a host of biologic pathogens, and an assortment of heavy metals including mercury, cadmium, lead and arsenic. In the Denver case, the toxic soup could come to include radioactive waste.

The Lowry Landfill Superfund Site is owned by the city of Denver and managed by two subsidiaries of Waste Management Inc. The dump, located 15 miles southwest of Denver, in Arapahoe County, sits on a former military bombing range where chemical and conventional weapons were tested

between 1940 and 1962.

Between 1966 and 1980, the city used the property as a dump for household trash, sludge from the Metro sewer system, and liquid and solid industrial waste produced by local industry. Adolph Coors Co., which had two nuclear contracts with the Atomic Energy Commission in the early ’60s, was the top corporate user of the Lowry Landfill, disposing of industrial solvents and other wastes on the site. Other industrial dumpers included Conoco, Syntex, Hewlett Packard and Gates Rubber. In 1986, the EPA declared the Lowry Landfill a Superfund site; for more than a decade, the agency has been trying

to figure out how to clean up the site and who will pay for it. In June 1996, Denver Mayor Wellington Webb appointed Adrienne Anderson to serve on the Metro board as an advocate for sewer-district workers. Anderson, former Western regional director of the National Toxics Campaign, teaches environmental ethics at the University of Colorado at Boulder (*In These Times* cover story, October 28, 1992).

The agenda for the first board meeting that Anderson was to attend included an item approving the payment of \$175,000 in attorney fees. “I began researching the issue through the Colorado Open Records Act, and lo and behold, I found that as part of a secretive settlement, Metro had agreed that the Lowry Landfill Superfund waste, after going through an ineffective treatment on site, would be dumped into the sewer system,” Anderson says.

Anderson’s research indicated that the EPA had determined that the landfill’s current on-site treatment plant, run by Waste Management, was not adequate, and that the treatment plant would have to be either upgraded or replaced. Both options were very expensive. “In the documents I reviewed, it was determined that it would be much cheaper to pipe the waste to Metro,” Anderson says.

“Follow the money,” says Hugh Kaufman, the EPA engineer who tipped me off to this story. “If you run it through the city’s waste-water treatment plant, then the financial liability transfers from all the parties responsible for putting waste in the landfill to Metro—which means to the taxpayers of Denver and suburbs—and Coors and others are off the liability hook.”

Anderson, through her years of work with the National Toxics Campaign, knew that the EPA could not legally approve this plan without first going through a public-hearing process. She notified members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local who work at the Metro treatment plant, as well as the leaders of anti-sludge farming groups such as Family Farmers for Environmentally Safe Use of Property (FES UP).

Anderson’s fellow board members criticized her for making the deal public. “I was chided for informing workers at Metro about the plan,” says Anderson. “The board chair-



man told me that there were board members who thought I was being 'devious' for looking into this issue. But this is not a fraternity, it is a public board that is dealing with millions of dollars of public funds and with serious environmental decisions that have to be made that affect the health and safety of communities throughout the region."

Under public pressure, the EPA sponsored a public hearing on the plan on April 2 of this year. For that meeting, the EPA prepared a "fact sheet" entitled "Lowry Landfill Superfund Site: Second Explanation of Significant Differences."

The agency's fact sheet notes that the Lowry Landfill includes "hazardous substances, such as volatile organic compounds and heavy metals." Further, over the years, about 130 million gallons of liquid industrial waste were dumped at Lowry, in what the EPA describes as "some 75 unlined waste pits or trenches ... about 15 to 30 feet deep and about 100 to 1,000 feet long and about 50 to 150 feet wide." According to the EPA, the dumping took place in the following manner: "The pits were nearly filled with liquid wastes and then 25 to 60 feet of household garbage was placed over the pits. ... Over time, these wastes seeped out of the pits and mixed with the garbage and ground water."

What the EPA fact sheet doesn't say is that the site's waste also contains man-made radionuclides such as plutonium, americium, tritium, strontium, cerium and cesium. According to an April 1993 EPA risk assessment, done by CH2MHill, a longtime EPA subcontractor, these "radionuclides were detected in ground water, subsurface and surface soil, surface water and sediment" at the Lowry site.

Anderson had discovered this radionuclide risk assessment while going through health department files. At the EPA's April 2 public hearing, Anderson pressed her case, eventually extracting from Marc Herman, who manages the site's cleanup for the EPA, an admission that plutonium was detected in the Lowry Landfill. Then, at its April 15 board meeting, Metro issued a fact sheet formally acknowledging that "radioactive plutonium has been detected in the Lowry site ground water," which is to be piped into Metro's sewer plant.

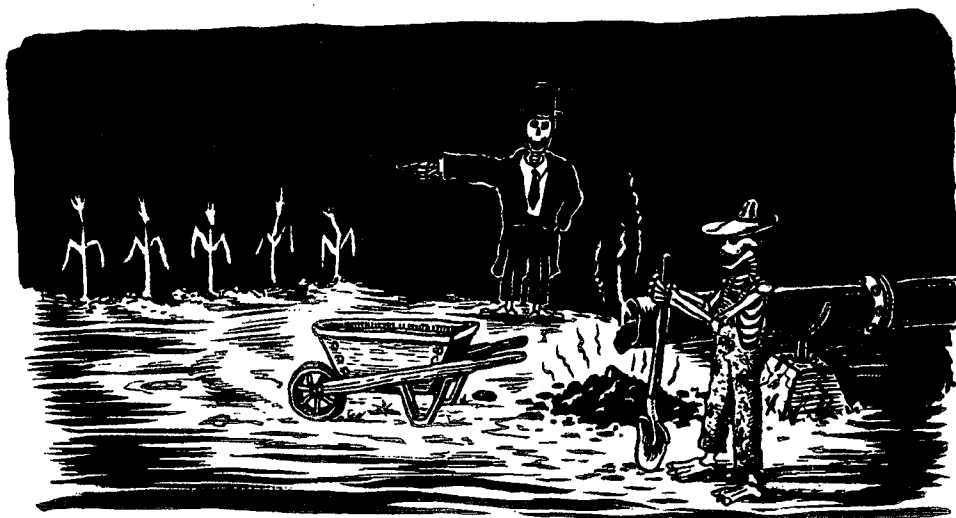
Herman contends that the concentrations of plutonium and other man-made radionuclides in the waste are within background levels, since they were found in similar concentrations on other parts of the federal bombing range where background tests were done for comparison.

But, according to Anderson, those background sites are themselves under investigation by the Department of Defense, which in 1995 declared the whole bombing range

a "catastrophic risk zone," due to unexploded bombs and chemical and other hazards.

Was radioactive waste from the Cold War arms buildup dumped at the bombing range or at the Lowry Landfill? "I haven't looked in the information file on Rocky Flats," the EPA's Herman told Anderson's class in environmental ethics on April 15. "I don't know what, if anything, was taken from Rocky Flats out to the Lowry site."

Yet in her investigation, Anderson has come across EPA documents indicating that on September 26, 1994, Rockwell International, which ran the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant for the federal government, agreed to pay \$314,000 to the EPA for having dumped 55,000 gallons of waste in the Lowry Landfill. The nature of the waste was



unspecified.

None of this reassures Lylamae and Richard Price.

The Prices run 600 cattle and grow wheat on their 19,000-acre ranch, which abuts Metro's wheat fields. The couple, who have been on their land for four generations and are members of FES UP, were none too happy to discover that the EPA had, behind their backs, approved the proposal to dump Superfund sludge on Metro's farm.

During heavy rains, like those which regularly occur on the plains, runoff from Metro's sludge-fertilized farm runs straight into the reservoir from which the Prices' cattle drink. And during periods of high winds, loose soil and sludge drift like snow across their property, at times covering their fence posts.

"In England, toxic cadmium was found in sheep grazing on sludge-covered land," says Lylamae, referring to an article in *New Scientist* that she had read. "We wonder what is happening with our cattle that we sell to you people out there who eat beef."

If the EPA's precedent-setting Superfund disposal plan in Denver is allowed to stand, an already intolerable situation will get worse. We can then expect to see the industrial poisons from the nation's 1,255 other Superfund sites piped into local sewer systems, turned into fertilizer, and introduced into the food chain.

**C**AMPAIGN FINANCE

# The giant sucking sound

*Al Gore is priming his fundraising machine for a march on the White House in the year 2000.*

By Ken Silverstein  
and Jeffrey St. Clair

**T**he press appears to be shocked by revelations that Al Gore was a major player in the unfolding campaign-finance scandal, doing everything from shaking down Buddhist monks to using a credit card to make calls to potential donors from the White House. As Dan Balz of the *Washington Post* put it, "Gore has long been called the Boy Scout of the Clinton administration, a politician of such integrity and personal probity that even Clinton has complained about the vice president's glowing press."

Gore, of course, has never been a political Boy Scout, least of all when it comes to campaign finance. Between 1987 and 1992, he raised almost \$2.5 million as a senator from Tennessee, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Gore oversaw the telecommunications sector from his perch on the Senate Commerce Committee

and raised nearly 10 percent of that \$2.5 million from the communications barons.

Today, the Veep commands one of the most sophisticated fundraising networks in town—which is already being tooled up for his planned presidential bid in the year 2000. Many of Gore's financial attendants have parlayed stints in government into lucrative private-sector careers as influence peddlers, political consultants and business officials. The intricate relationship between Gore and his fundraisers shines light on an issue that lies at the heart of the Donorgate scandal: the way in which lobbyists and other political fixers use their access to lawmakers and contacts in the federal bureaucracy to reap financial windfalls for their business clientele.

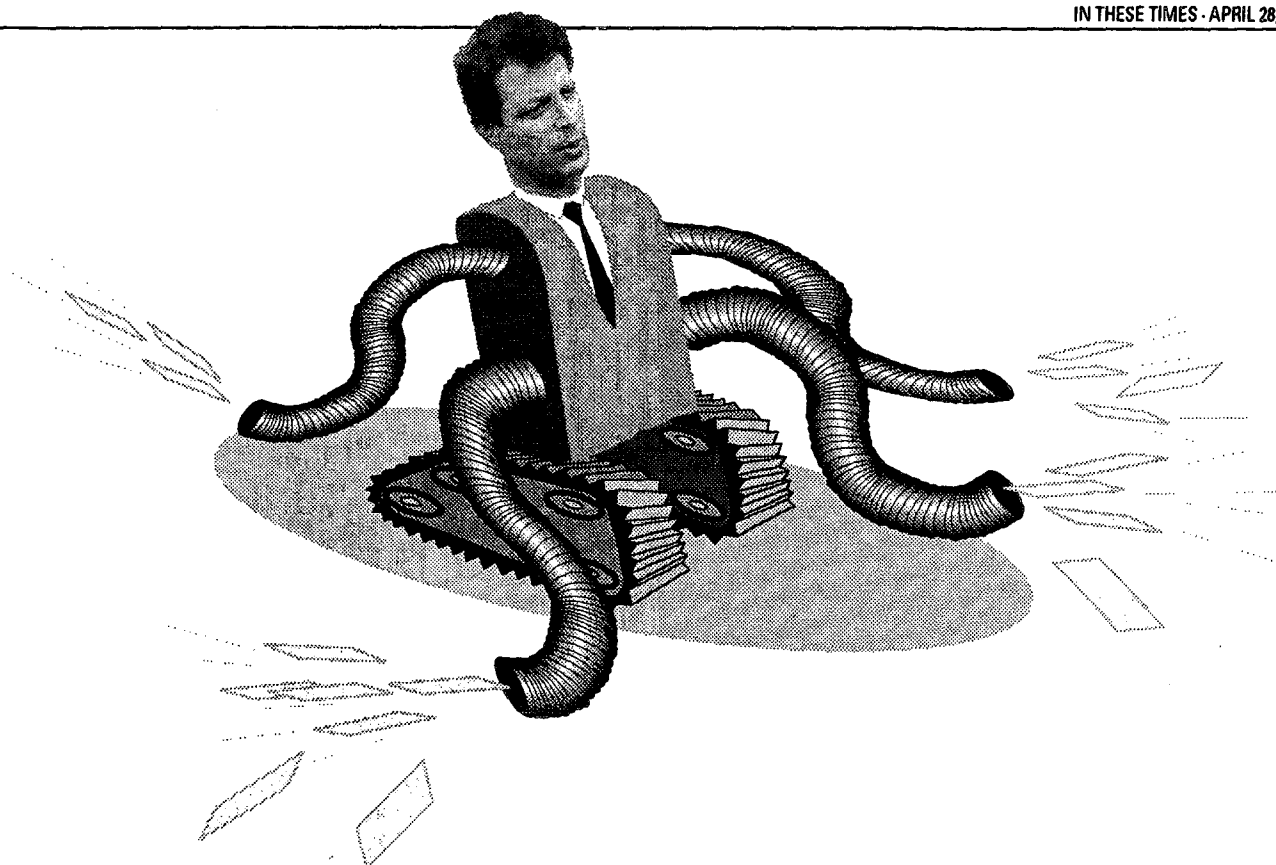
One of Gore's closest political and financial allies is Dan Dutko, once an aide to former Alabama Sen. Donald Stewart and now head of the Dutko Group, a major Beltway lobby shop that specializes in representing telecommunications companies. Dutko became tight with Gore in the mid-'80s and

quickly became one of his shrewdest fundraisers. Dutko briefly worked a scam in which then Sen. Gore would arrange conference calls with small groups of telecommunications company officials and industry lobbyists, according to a Beltway source who asked not to be identified. Dutko would participate in these calls as Gore's designated plant. After the future Veep made his pitch for cash, Dutko, professing to be moved by Gore's passionate interest in the telecommunications field, would agree to pony up a huge campaign contribution. Not wanting to appear cheap, the other conference callers would reluctantly match Dutko's offer, and Gore would walk away with a nice haul.

The flourishing of the Gore/Dutko relationship coincides with the latter's meteoric rise within the ranks of Democratic Party bagmen. Though Dutko is himself a modest donor—in the latest election cycle, he gave \$1,000 to the Clinton/Gore campaign and another \$22,000 to congressional candidates—he is keenly adept at extracting cash from others. Last year, Dutko was named national finance vice chairman of the Clinton/Gore re-election campaign, and was appointed to the Democratic National Committee's Financial Advisory Board, a group charged with prodding donors into doling out \$350,000 or more each. Dutko was recently put in charge of the Democrats' Victory fund, which will raise money for the 1998 congressional elections.

Dutko's impressive access to Gore and the administration has led businesses to flock to his firm. During the past few years, the Dutko Group, previously a demure, second-tier player, has emerged as one of the most important lobby shops in town. Among its telecommunications clients are COMSAT Corp., the Competitive Telecommunications Association, DSC Communications Corp., the National Cel-





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lular Resellers Association and the Satellite Broadcasting and Communications Association. The Dutko Group also represents the Alliance for GATT, Citgo Petroleum and the American Plastics Council.

Dutko is a staunch Democrat, as is his company's vice president, Mark Irion, a one-time staffer for former Sen. Alan Dixon of Illinois. But, like many Washington lobby shops, the Dutko Group has been careful to cover all the bases. Its top officers include Kevin Tally, former chief of staff and campaign director for Republican Rep. William Goodling, who now chairs the House Committee on Education and the Work Force; Ronald Kaufman, a deputy assistant to the president under George Bush; and Gary Andres, another former Bush staffer and between 1994 and 1996 a member of the Thursday Group, the elite troupe of GOP lobbyists who met regularly with the House Republican leadership to plot strategy on the Contract With America.

Thanks to his links to the Clinton administration, Dutko is often in the right place at the right time. He was one of 831 guests who stayed overnight in the Lincoln Bedroom during Clinton's first term and was invited to a June 1996 state dinner with Irish Prime Minister Mary Robinson. Dutko was in the crowd at a May 1996 DNC fundraiser held at Gore's mansion, an affair that raised several million dollars (and which Dutko described to the press as "a very tasteful and modest event"). He also attended at least two of the infamous White House coffee klatches.

While Dutko is esteemed in Washington for his skills as an influence peddler, he spends little time lobbying on the Hill or testifying before congressional committees. In fact, none of the half-dozen Hill staffers and lobbyists we called had ever seen Dutko in action.

Instead, Dutko exploits his access to broker meetings between his clients and administration officials, to open doors at government agencies and to otherwise serve as a high-level political fixer. Take his work for DSC, a Texas-based phone-switching and computer-equipment manufacturer. Two years ago, DSC asked Dutko for help in its battle with several foreign competitors to win a \$36 million deal with Telmex, Mexico's state-run telecommunications company. According to an account in the *Washington Post*, Dutko put the company in touch with officials at the Commerce Department. Soon, then Commerce Secretary Ron Brown was on the job for DSC, writing and calling Telmex chieftain Jaime Chico Pardo to press the firm's case. In June 1995, DSC announced that it had won the contract; weeks later, the company sent a \$25,000 donation to the Democrats. At Dutko's suggestion, DSC sent an additional \$100,000 to the DNC last year, a gesture that scored the firm's CEO, James Donald, a thank-you call from Dutko's friend Al Gore.

The Dutko Group's other clients have also done well during the Clinton/Gore years. One big winner was AT&T Wireless, the cellular-phone division of its well-known cor-

porate parent. Shortly before Congress passed the Telecommunications Act of 1996, Dutko and other AT&T lobbyists crafted a clause that freed the company to merge its cellular and long-distance operations, and to automatically assign AT&T as the long-distance carrier for its cellular-phone customers. The Justice Department had ordered the company to do precisely the opposite when, in 1995, it allowed AT&T to buy McCaw Cellular Communications. AT&T Wireless paid the Dutko Group \$260,000 for its efforts last year, a fair amount but relative chump change considering that the bill clearly provides the company with an enormous payoff.

**D**utko is just one of many Gore intimates who have profited handsomely from their relationship with the Veep. Other prominent members of this clique are a group of former Senate staffers, many of whom now toil on behalf of some of the country's largest corporations and trade associations.

No one has cashed in on his ties to Gore with greater success than Peter S. Knight. He served as Gore's chief legislative aide in the Senate for a dozen years before leaving in 1989 to prowl K Street as a lobbyist at the powerhouse firm of Wunder, Diefendorfer, Cannon and Thelan. On the roster of those represented by Knight's firm are tobacco giants RJR Nabisco Inc. and Philip Morris Companies Inc., Ashland (Oil) Inc., asbestos-maker Manville Corp., the American Forest and Paper Association, timber behemoths Kimberly-Clark Corp. and MAXXAM Inc., Shell Oil Co., McDonnell Douglas Corp. and Westinghouse Electric Corp. Knight brought \$2.9 million in billings to his firm in 1995 alone.

In the last election cycle, Knight wrote \$15,000 worth of personal checks to Democratic candidates. He also contributed \$1,000 to the political action committee of COMSAT, the communications giant represented by the Dutko Group. COMSAT was a fanatical supporter of telecommunications reform and enjoys billions in contracts with the federal government. Under the Communications Satellite Act, which gives COMSAT exclusive U.S. rights to the INTELSAT system of international communications satellites, the president is allowed to appoint three out of the 15 members of the company's board of directors. In September 1994, Clinton named Knight to the COMSAT board and renominated him in the fall of 1996. For his services, Knight pulls down more than \$30,000 a year in director's fees and stock options. COMSAT gave \$75,000 to the Democrats in soft money and PAC contributions over the past two years.

In 1996, Gore secured Knight's appointment as head of the Clinton re-election campaign, though his friend at the time had limited experience as a political fundraiser. He proved to be a fast learner. In less than a year, Knight is credited with personally raising over \$19 million for the party. He routinely solicited and accepted large checks—between \$50,000 and \$100,000—for the DNC at his office in the Clinton/Gore campaign headquarters. In a July 14, 1996, memo to Harold Ickes, the former deputy chief of

staff at the White House, Knight laid out a plan to raise \$5.2 million for the DNC by inviting big donors to attend a variety of sessions with Clinton, the First Lady and Gore. Knight instructed Ickes that in order to meet these ambitious goals, he “must hold people accountable” for the amounts they pledged to raise. Federal and congressional investigators are now probing these activities for possible violations of federal election laws that prohibit soft money from being used to aid individual candidates.

One way Knight scored such big bucks was by hitting up former clients with matters pending before the executive branch. One of the most prominent companies on Knight's Rolodex is the Fluor Corp., a global engineering company based in Irvine, Calif. In 1994, Fluor executives traveled with Ron Brown to China, where they signed multibillion-dollar contracts to construct power plants and a natural-gas pipeline. These and other Fluor projects abroad have been backed by tens of millions in government financing through the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Council.

Here at home, Fluor has become one of the dominant players in the lucrative field of environmental cleanup. In 1996, Knight's firm helped Fluor win a \$5 billion contract from the Department of Energy to handle disposal of radioactive waste at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Richland, Wash. The contract was awarded by the undersecretary of energy, Thomas Grumbly, a former Gore aide and a close friend of Knight's. Since 1995, Fluor and its PAC have shelled out \$203,000 to the Democrats, including a \$100,000 check to the DNC on May 3, 1996, just two months before the Hanford contract was signed.

**A**nother longtime Gore intimate who moved from public service to private plunder is Roy Neel. He replaced Knight as Gore's chief Senate aide in 1989 and then became his chief of staff when Gore assumed the vice presidency. Early in the administration, Gore made deregulation of the telecommunications industry a personal priority, including development of the “information superhighway.” Unlike the interstate highway system pushed through Congress by Gore's father, former Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore Sr., the virtual highway would be an entirely private enterprise, a kind of toll road through cyberspace.

In the midst of these discussions in the fall of 1993, Neel discreetly left the White House to become president of the United States Telephone Association, a local-telephone trade group with an annual lobbying budget of \$13 million. These firms stand to make billions from the administration's plan to reshape the telecommunications industry, especially Gore's plans to privatize the Internet.

When the election rolled around in 1996, Neel marshaled support from the companies that had benefited so handsomely from Gore's efforts. Federal Election Commission records show that the top five telephone companies alone contributed \$1.2 million to the Democratic Party last year. Although Neel himself only gave \$2,000 to the



Clinton/Gore campaign, his association and its PAC gave the Democrats \$46,000. (It should come as no surprise to discover that Neel's Telephone Association is represented by Peter Knight's law firm.)

Perhaps the most notorious of Gore's financial warlords is developer Nathan Landow, based in Bethesda, Md. Landow raised millions for Jimmy Carter in 1976 and was considered to be a shoo-in for a posting as ambassador to the Netherlands. Then reports surfaced about hotel and casino construction deals between Landow and members of the Meyer Lansky and Gambino crime syndicates. Landow withdrew his name from consideration and quietly disappeared from the political scene.

A decade later, Landow emerged as the man behind IMPACT '88, a political action committee backed by developers who derived much of their wealth from federal construction contracts. The group hired Democratic pollster Patrick Caddell to develop a profile of the ideal presidential candidate for the '90s. Caddell's memo described the new Democrat as a political insider who would run against "big government," tout traditional values and adopt a conservative agenda, especially on the military, crime and taxes.

The presidential profile was pitched to Sam Nunn, Chuck Robb and David Boren, all of whom passed. But Gore, whose political principles have always displayed a mollusk-like malleability, seized on the Caddell document and used it as a strategic plan for his 1988 presidential primary campaign. He lost badly but gained the unswerving support of Landow, who has raised millions on his behalf in the last decade.

Landow was invited to two coffee klatsches at the White House. At an April 12, 1996, gathering in the White House's Map Room, Landow accompanied two executives from the National Homebuilders Association, an organization that has hurled hostile invective at Gore's environmental agenda. Later that afternoon, Landow wrote a \$25,000 check to the DNC. In all, Landow and his immediate family gave the Democrats \$93,000 in the last election cycle.

Landow clearly expected his financial aid to the Veep to pay large dividends. As last year's presidential campaign was unfolding, Democratic fundraisers finagled a \$100,000 contribution out of the impoverished Cheyenne-Arapaho tribe with promises that the Clinton administration would return to it mineral-rich federal lands in Oklahoma. After the election, DNC officials advised the tribe to contact Landow. According to tribal leaders, Gore's crony requested as payment a 10 percent cut from all oil and gas receipts generated on any recovered lands. Landow also implored the tribe to hire Knight's lobbying firm to represent its interests on the Hill, for a retainer of \$100,000 and a fee of \$10,000 per month. Cheyenne leaders claim that the developer threatened to use his clout to "make sure those lands are never given back" unless they agreed to his terms. (The Cheyenne have got nowhere in their efforts to recover their land, but exposure of the case proved so embarrassing that the DNC

returned the tribe's original \$100,000 contribution.)

Even in the wake of the post-election fundraising scandals, the Gore machine's quest for political cash rolls relentlessly on. Knight now chairs the benignly named Vice President's Residence Foundation, an outfit which is raising money to restore the old Naval Observatory, where Gore and his family currently reside. In a solicitation to a March fundraiser, Knight encouraged potential donors to shell out \$10,000 in exchange for a print of a Jamie Wyeth painting of the Observatory and, most importantly, an intimate dinner with the Gores.

Connoisseurs of the art of political fundraising forecast that the next presidential election may cost each campaign more than \$150 million, on top of the \$750 million in soft money each party will likely spend. Al Gore's financial hurdle may prove even higher, since he is expected to face vigorous primary challenges from House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt and Sen. Paul Wellstone, both of whom can tap the deep reserves of organized labor. That's why in the coming months you can expect the vice president and his associates to concoct many more projects like the Residence Foundation in an unceasing drive to keep donors from the business community primed for a Gore march on the White House three years hence.

Ken Silverstein is co-editor of *Counterpunch*, an investigative newsletter. Jeffrey St. Clair is editor of *Wild Forest Review* in Oregon City, Ore.



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**TURKEY**

# The cop, the gangster and the beauty queen

**E**

arlier this year, Turkish families began turning off their lights and TV sets at nine o'clock sharp each night to huddle in darkened homes in protest against the collusion of state security forces and criminal elements in their country. The unusual display of dissent was triggered by the dramatic revelations that followed a car crash last November on a remote highway near Susurluk, 100 miles southwest of Istanbul.

Three people were crushed to death in the crash, when their speeding black Mercedes hit a tractor and overturned. The deceased included Huseyin Kocadag, a top police official who commanded anti-guerrilla units; Abdullah Catli, a convicted fugitive who was wanted for drug trafficking and murder; and Catli's girlfriend, Gonca Us, a Turkish beauty queen turned Mafia hitwoman. A

fourth occupant, Kurdish warlord Sedat Bucak, whose militia was armed and financed by the Turkish government to fight Kurdish separatists, survived the crash.

Initially, Turkish officials claimed that the police were transporting two captured criminals at the time of the accident. But evidence seized at the crash scene indicated that Turkish authorities had given special diplomatic credentials to Catli, the fugitive gangster. Along with several handguns, silencers and a government-approved weapons permit, Catli was carrying six ID cards, each with a different name.

When it became apparent that Catli had been working for police who should have been hunting him down, the Turkish interior minister resigned and several high-ranking law-enforcement officers, including Istanbul's police chief, were suspended.

The news of Catli's secret police ties was all the more scandalous given his well-known role as a key leader of the Grey Wolves, a neofascist terrorist group that has stalked Turkey since the late '60s. In the '70s, armed bands of Grey Wolves unleashed a wave of bomb

attacks and shootings that killed thousands of people, including public officials, journalists, students, lawyers, labor organizers, social democrats, left-wing activists and ethnic Kurds.

A young tough who wore black leather pants and looked like Turkey's answer to Elvis Presley, Catli graduated from street-gang violence to become a brutal enforcer for the Grey Wolves. Rising quickly within the ranks, he emerged as second-in-command of the Grey Wolves in 1978. That year, Catli went underground after Turkish police linked him to the murder of seven trade-union activists.

The Grey Wolves gained international notoriety when Mehmet Ali Agca, one of Catli's closest collaborators, shot and nearly killed Pope John Paul II in St. Peter's Square on May 13, 1981. Testifying in September 1985 as a witness at the trial of three Bulgarians and four Turks charged with complicity in the papal shooting in Rome, Catli (who was not a defendant) disclosed that he gave Agca the pistol that wounded the pontiff. Catli had previously helped Agca escape from a Turkish jail, where he was serving time for killing a national newspaper editor. In addition to safehousing Agca, Catli provided him with fake ID and directed his movements for several months prior to the papal attack. In effect, Catli was Agca's handler.

Catli also had close links to Turkish drug mafiosi. Immersed in the narcotics trade, his Grey Wolves henchmen functioned as couriers for the Turkish mob boss Abuzer Ugurlu. At Ugurlu's behest, Catli's thugs crisscrossed the infamous smugglers' route passing through Bulgaria, which served as a transit route for sizable shipments of arms and heroin.

An early '80s investigation by Judge Carlo Palermo, an

*A car crash  
last November  
revealed  
unsavory ties  
between the  
Turkish  
government,  
the country's  
neofascist right  
and the CIA.*

By Martin A. Lee



Italian magistrate based in Trento, into arms and drug trafficking from Eastern Europe to Sicily disclosed that large quantities of sophisticated NATO weaponry—including machine guns, Leopard tanks and U.S.-built Cobra assault helicopters—were being smuggled from Western Europe to countries in the Middle East. Deliveries were often made in exchange for consignments of heroin that filtered back, courtesy of the Grey Wolves and other smugglers, through Bulgaria to northern Italy, where the drug was received by Mafia middlemen and transported to North America. For several years, the Sicilian-run “Pizza Connection” flooded the United States and Europe with high-grade heroin made largely from Turkish heroin base.

The bristling contraband operation that traversed Bulgaria was a magnet for secret-service agents on both sides of the Cold War divide. Crucial in this regard was the role of Kintex, a Sofia-based, state-controlled import-export firm that figured prominently in the arms trade. Kintex was riddled with Bulgarian and Soviet spies—a fact which encouraged speculation that the KGB and its Bulgarian proxies were behind the plot against the pope. But Western intelligence also had its hooks into the Bulgarian smuggling scene, as evidenced by the CIA’s use of Kintex to channel weapons to the Nicaraguan contras in the early ’80s.

Although the CIA’s link to the arms-for-drugs traffic in Bulgaria was widely known in espionage circles, Reagan administration officials preferred to emphasize bogus right-wing conspiracy theories that attributed the papal shooting to a Communist plot. During his September 1985 court testimony in Rome, Catli asserted that he had been approached by the West German BND spy organization, which allegedly promised him a large sum of money if he implicated the Bulgarian secret service and the KGB in the attempt on the pope’s life. Five years later, ex-CIA analyst Melvin A. Goodman disclosed that his colleagues, under pressure from CIA higher-ups, skewed their reports to try to lend credence to the contention that the Soviets were involved. “The CIA had no evidence linking the KGB to the plot,” Goodman told the Senate Select Intelligence Committee.

Before it completely unraveled as a result of Goodman’s testimony in 1990, the so-called “Bulgarian connection”

was one of the more effective disinformation schemes hatched during the Reagan era. It reinforced the notion of the Soviet Union as an evil empire, while deflecting attention from extensive—and potentially embarrassing—ties between U.S. intelligence and the Turkish ultra-right.

During the ’70s, the Grey Wolves operated with the encouragement and protection of the Counterguerrilla Organization, a section of the Turkish Army’s Special Warfare Department. Headquartered in the U.S. Military Aid Mission building in Ankara, the Special Warfare Depart-



ment received funds and training from U.S. advisors to create “stay-behind” squads comprised of civilian irregulars who were supposed to go underground and engage in acts of sabotage and resistance in the event of a Soviet invasion. Similar Cold War counterguerrilla units were established in every NATO member state, covering all of noncommunist Europe like a spider web. But instead of preparing for foreign enemies, U.S.-sponsored stay-behind operatives in Turkey and elsewhere set their sights on domestic targets.

In the late ’70s, former military prosecutor and Turkish Supreme Court Justice Emin Deger documented collaboration between the Grey Wolves and the government’s coun-

terguerrilla forces, as well as the close ties of the latter to the CIA. The Counter guerrilla Organization provided weapons to terrorist groups such as the Grey Wolves, who instigated much of the political violence that culminated in a 1980 coup by the Turkish military that deposed Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit. State security forces justified the coup in the name of restoring order and stability.

Cold War realpolitik compelled the Grey Wolves and their institutional sponsor, the ultra-right National Action Party, to favor a discreet alliance with NATO and U.S. intelligence. Led by Col. Alpaslan Turkes, the National Action Party espoused a fanatical pan-Turkish ideology that called for repatriating whole sections of the Soviet Union under the flag of a reborn Turkish empire. The Grey Wolves forged ties with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, a CIA-backed coalition led by erstwhile fascist collaborators from Eastern Europe. Colleagues of Turkes controlled a Turkish chapter of the World Anti-Communist League, an umbrella group that functioned as a cat's paw for U.S. intelligence in Latin America, Southwest Asia and other Cold War battlegrounds.

For more than four decades, Turkey's strategic importance derived from its status as the West's easternmost bulwark against Soviet Communism. In an effort to weaken the Soviet regime, the CIA used pan-Turkish militants to incite anti-Soviet passions among Muslim Turkic minorities in the U.S.S.R. Although this effort became redundant when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, U.S. policy had set the stage for aggressive Grey Wolf encroachments in Central Asia after the Cold War ended.

Pan-Turkish crusaders flocked to the Central Asian republics of the former Soviet Union. Some became advisors to fledgling governments in the region. The shifting geopolitical situation created new opportunities for Turkes and his allies. After serving a truncated prison term in the '80s for his role in masterminding the political violence that convulsed Turkey, Turkes and several of his pan-Turkish colleagues were permitted to resume their political activities.

The colonel was given a hero's welcome in 1992 when he visited his long-lost Turkish brothers in newly independent Azerbaijan. In Baku, Turkes endorsed the candidacy of Grey Wolf sympathizer Abulfex Elcibey, who was subsequently elected president of Azerbaijan. To run his interior ministry, Elcibey chose Iskander Gamidov, an unpredictable extremist who flaunted his affiliation with the Grey Wolves. Known for using physical violence against moderate critics of his government, Gamidov openly advocated the creation of a pan-Turkish state that would encompass northern Iran and extend to Siberia, India and China. He was forced to resign his post in April 1993 after he threatened to attack neighboring Armenia with nuclear weapons.

By this time, Abdullah Catli was also back in circulation after several years of incarceration in France and Switzerland for heroin trafficking. In 1990, he escaped from a Swiss jail cell and rejoined the neofascist underground in Turkey. Despite his documented links to the papal shooting and

other terrorist attacks, Catli was pressed into service as a death-squad organizer for the Turkish government's dirty war against the Kurds. Turkish Army spokesmen acknowledged that the Counter guerrilla Organization (renamed the Special Forces Command in 1992) was involved in the escalating anti-Kurdish campaign.

As a quid pro quo for cooperating with the United States during the Gulf War, Washington winked while Turkish jets bombed Kurdish bases inside Iraqi territory. Anti-Kurdish death squads, operating with impunity, assassinated more than a thousand noncombatants in southeastern Turkey. Hundreds of others "disappeared" while in police custody. Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and the European Parliament condemned the rampant human rights abuses by Turkish security forces.

Catli's secret contribution to the dirty war was exposed when he died in the fateful auto accident. Strewn amidst the roadside wreckage was proof of what many journalists and human rights activists had long suspected: Successive Turkish governments had protected narco-traffickers, sheltered terrorists and sponsored gangs of killers to suppress Turkish dissidents and Kurdish rebels.

Turkes confirmed that Catli had performed clandestine duties for Turkey's police and military. "On the basis of my state experience, I admit that Catli has been used by the state," Turkes said. Catli had been cooperating "in the framework of a secret service working for the good of the state," Turkes insisted.

U.S.-backed officials, including former Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, also defended Catli after his death. "I don't know whether he is guilty or not," Ciller stated, "but we will always respectfully remember those who fire bullets or suffer wounds in the name of this country, this nation and this state."

Vowing a thorough investigation, 80 members of the Turkish parliament have urged the federal prosecutor to file charges of criminal misconduct against Ciller, who is currently the foreign minister. They asserted that the Susurluk car crash provided Turkey "with an historic opportunity to expose unsolved murders and the drugs and arms smuggling that have been going on in our country for years."

The scandal momentarily reinvigorated the Turkish press, which has been unearthing revelations about criminals and police officials involved in the heroin trade. But death squads have murdered numerous journalists in recent years, and prosecutors face serious obstacles due to intense pressure from superiors who are not eager to delve into state secrets.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government has yet to acknowledge responsibility for the Turkish Frankenstein that it helped to create. When asked about the Susurluk affair, a State Department spokesperson said it was "an internal Turkish matter" and declined to comment further.

◀ Martin A. Lee's book on neofascism, *The Beast Reawakens*, will be published by Little, Brown in July. An earlier version of this article appeared in *Le Monde Diplomatique* in March.



**POLITICS**

# Capital games

*That old  
chestnut, the  
capital-gains  
tax cut, is  
back—this  
time with a  
decent shot at  
passage.*

By Annys Shin

**T**he ire of taxpayers is usually at its peak around April 15. This year, taxpayers have a worthier object of indignation than the IRS bureaucrat. Capital-gains tax cuts are back, and thanks to the politics of President Clinton's "vital center," Republicans may actually get their cherished tax cut for the rich, while everyone else gets stuck footing the bill.

Capital gains—the profits from the sale of assets such as real estate, stocks and bonds—are already taxed less than regular income, with a top rate of 28 percent, compared to a top income-tax rate of 39.6 percent. Capital-gains taxes have already been cut twice in the last 20 years, from a top rate of 39 percent to 28 percent in 1978, then down to 20 percent in 1981. They were raised back to 28 percent in 1986.

The debate over capital-gains tax cuts hasn't changed much over the

years. Proponents argue that taxing the capital gains of the wealthy and corporations hinders investment and, in turn, economic growth. Opponents counter that the evidence that capital-gains tax cuts spur economic growth is sketchy at best. Mainstream economists tend to agree. According to a recent *Wall Street Journal* poll, a majority of economists saw little or no positive effect from cutting capital-gains taxes. Even worse, liberals argue, capital-gains tax cuts line the pockets of a wealthy few at a time when most Americans have watched their incomes fall and the gap between rich and poor continues to widen. The lion's share of capital-gains income goes to households earning over \$200,000 a year.

But none of this has dampened Republican enthusiasm for the idea. In the late '80s, the Bush administration went on a crusade to cut capital-gains taxes when changes in tax law and the increasing focus on deficit reduction forced Republicans to choose favorite

tax cuts to push. Since then, it's been a staple of Republican tax-cut proposals and part of the Contract With America. In 1995, passage of a capital-gains tax cut seemed a sure thing, until Pat Buchanan started winning points with populist rhetoric bashing Wall Street. Then last year, Democrats gained political mileage by blasting Republicans for plans to slash programs for the needy to pay for tax cuts for the rich.

Ironically, capital-gains tax cuts remain as unpopular as ever, yet have a better shot at passage this year. That's largely because Clinton wants to scratch Republican backs so that they'll pass his education tax-credit proposals—which would go mostly to people who would attend college anyway.

Clinton began shifting his strategy in late 1995, when he suggested he would back a capital-gains tax cut in exchange for his proposed \$500-per-child tax credit and tax deductions for college tuition. During the 1996 campaign, he repeated the same line, saying that he wasn't "philosophically opposed" to cutting capital-gains taxes. After the election, Clinton beat Republicans to the punch, offering what is probably the only popular capital-gains tax cut—one for homeowners—as part of his 10-year package of \$224 billion in targeted tax relief.

Right now, people 55 and older get a one-time exemption on taxes on profits up to \$125,000 from the sale of a home. Under the Clinton proposal, married couples regardless of age would be exempt from paying taxes on profits up to \$500,000 from the sale of a home; they would qualify for the exemption once in any given two-year period. Individuals would get a \$250,000 exemption. The policy would cost taxpayers an estimated \$5.8 billion over the next 10 years, according to the Washington-based Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

Cutting capital-gains taxes on homeowners has provoked

little opposition because, on the surface, it sounds like a middle-class boon. But some analysts say it's really nothing more than corporate welfare for the real-estate industry. "Housing capital is already favored under the tax code. It has an effective [tax] rate of about 4 percent. It doesn't need any more breaks," says one budget expert at the Progressive Policy Institute, who asked not to be identified.

The other big winners would be the well-to-do—the only ones likely to realize a profit of as much as \$500,000 on a home. Most Americans don't pay capital-gains taxes under existing law because they roll over the profit from the sale of one home into the purchase of a new one, provided they buy a house at the same price or higher. And the profits from home sales of most Americans fall well under the current one-time, \$125,000 exemption.

For their part, Republicans are eager to test Clinton's willingness to horse trade a capital-gains tax cut for some of his pet proposals. Since January, Republicans in both houses have staked out positions on the issue ranging from hard-line to compromise. Shortly after the opening of the 105th Congress, Senate Republicans introduced two bills that would cut \$200 billion in taxes over five years. The bills resemble the tax-cut plan from the Contract With America, which Clinton vetoed.

The Senate leadership proposal would effectively cut the capital-gains rate in half in addition to indexing capital gains for inflation, which in some cases could bring the top rate down to as low as 10.5 percent, according to Iris Lav of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. The bill would also make inherited estates worth up to \$1 million tax free, expand IRAs for the wealthy, and grant a \$500-per-child tax credit to middle- and upper-income families. Based on official estimates, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities reports the total package would cost taxpayers \$546 billion over the next 10 years, with more of the benefits going to the wealthiest 1 percent.

Other Republicans favor an even more radical capital-gains tax-cut bill introduced in March by Joint Economic

Committee Chairman Sen. Connie Mack of Florida and House Republican Conference Secretary Jennifer Dunn of Washington. The Mack-Dunn bill would extend capital-gains tax cuts not just to individuals but to corporations as well.

Republicans are so adamant about passing big tax cuts this year that some publicly chewed out Speaker Newt Gin-

grich in late March when he suggested putting tax cuts on the back burner until Clinton and congressional Republicans hammered out a balanced budget. "We don't want to get into the trap where every time we propose any kind of healthy change in government, liberals have automatic screaming about tax cuts," Gingrich told a group of reporters.

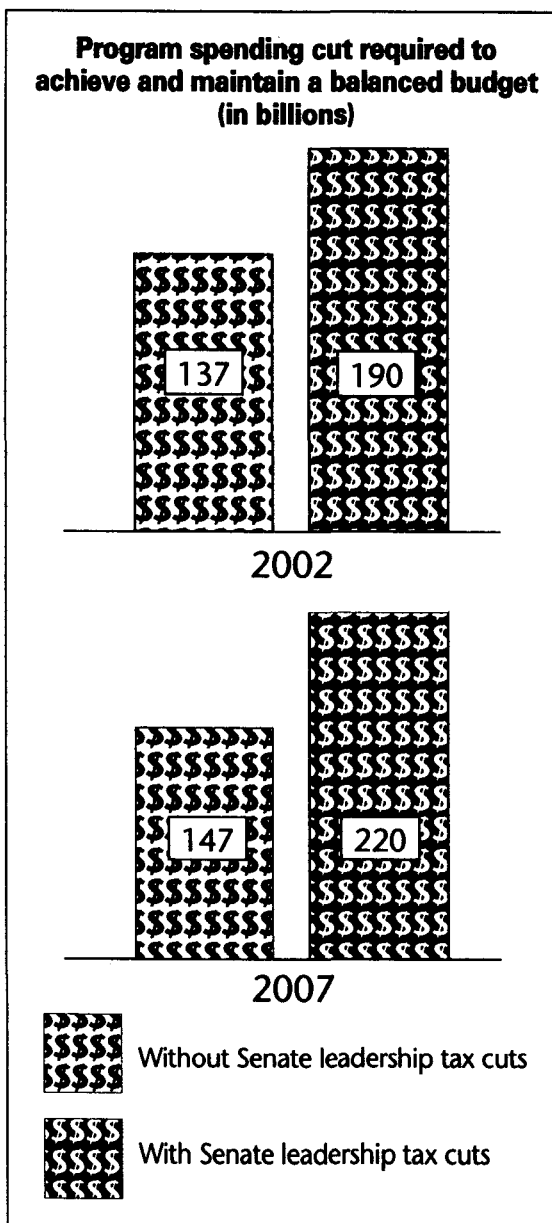
House Majority Leader Dick Armey of Texas and Senate Finance Chairman Bill Roth immediately contradicted the Speaker, declaring tax cuts a top GOP priority. A small revolt among the rank and file soon broke out as a group of freshmen and sophomore Republican House members stalled routine funding for congressional committees in protest.

In recent weeks, Republicans went after Gingrich, gloves off. Rank-and-file members began questioning whether Gingrich will hold onto his leadership post through the end of the 105th Congress. Earlier this month, conservative Republicans Reps. Peter King of New York and David McIntosh of Indiana said Newt would have to go unless he moved tax cuts to the top of the House agenda ASAP.

Not surprisingly, Gingrich caved in to his party's right wing. Affirming his conservative credentials, he called for the elimination of capital-gains taxes and taxes on inheritances. "I favor a zero tax on savings and job creation," he told reporters at a news conference on April 9. "We're for

zero tax on death benefits." The following day, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott took some of the wind out of Gingrich's sails. "I'll always be looking for an opportunity to eliminate [these taxes]," Lott said. "But I don't think that we can get that done in one year, when you're dealing with an overall budget situation." Nonetheless, Gingrich's capitulation to conservatives leaves tax cuts firmly at the top of the GOP agenda.

Republican demands for tax cuts coupled with Clinton's willingness to compromise have prompted budget watchers to forecast a cut in capital-gains tax rates later this year. "The



SOURCE: CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE AND CENTER ON BUDGET AND POLICY PRIORITIES



leadership has to come up with something because Republicans in the ranks won't go for a budget without any tax cuts. They'll feel betrayed," says Allen Schick, a budget analyst for the Brookings Institution and professor of public policy at the University of Maryland.

"Capital-gains tax cuts will likely be part of any large deal not because the case for them is any stronger, but because the Republicans have made it a deal breaker and the White House has suggested that it wouldn't let capital-gains tax cuts stand in the way of a deal," says Robert Shapiro, a senior analyst with the Progressive Policy Institute.

The only way to shove capital-gains tax cuts aside for another year is if Democrats raise the political costs, just in time for the 1998 midterm campaign season to kick off. After watching the GOP scrap from the sidelines, Democrats seem ready for a replay of last year, when they cast themselves as defenders of Medicare, education and the environment.

On April 9, in front of the Capitol, House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri and Minority Whip David Bonior of Michigan led a choir of Democratic freshmen in humming a populist tune. "Democrats don't want Medicare cuts to pay for a tax cut for the wealthiest Americans," Gephardt said. "Little has changed in two years. Republicans seem bent on cutting domestic programs to pay for their sought-after tax cut for the wealthy. We're not for it, we've never been, and we never will be."

But how far congressional Democrats will go to stop capital-gains tax cuts remains to be seen. After all, the last thing anyone wants is to take the fall for shutting down the budget process.

Making things more complicated, Democrats aren't unified on tax cuts either. Many conservative and moderate Democrats support cutting capital-gains taxes, making them critical Republican allies. So far, however, these Democrats remain wary of crossing the voters whose fear of the deficit they have worked so hard to inspire.

"I don't think it's prudent or possible to both cut taxes like capital gains on a broad basis and at the same time propose making a correction on the consumer price index. It gives an unfair impression that we're making a CPI adjustment not for accuracy and to preserve Social Security but to finance a tax cut," says Rep. David Minge of Minnesota, who chairs the Blue Dog coalition of conservative Democrats.

For deficit hawks and liberals alike, such apprehension goes beyond making the wrong impression because if capital-gains tax cuts are passed, the problem of paying for them

remains. If Clinton and Congress are serious about balancing the budget by 2002, capital-gains tax cuts—almost any tax cut in fact—would likely force deep cuts in Medicare and other programs for low-income Americans that have already taken substantial hits.

Under existing law, the Congressional Budget Office estimates that even with steady progress toward deficit reduction, \$137 billion in program cuts would be needed to balance the budget in 2002. The Senate leadership proposal would increase the amount of program cuts necessary by 39 percent to balance the budget in 2002, and 50 percent to balance it in 2007, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities estimates.

Any deal between Republicans in Congress and Clinton is likely to sell average Americans down the river. "There is a great danger in compromising," says Lav of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. "Compromise doesn't mean you cut the difference. A compromise between the Clinton budget and the Senate leadership tax-cut proposal could be more expensive or backloaded than each one individually."

For the overwhelming majority of Americans, cutting capital-gains taxes has little or no economic value. "It's pure political gas," says Economic Policy Institute economist Max B. Sawicky. But content to perform with smoke and mirrors, it is gas both Clinton and Republicans seem eager to inhale.

Anny Shin is a freelance writer who lives in Washington, D.C.

| Average Capital Gains |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| Income Group          | Capital Gains |
| \$0-10,000            | \$20          |
| \$10,000-20,000       | 40            |
| \$20,000-30,000       | 135           |
| \$30,000-40,000       | 215           |
| \$40,000-50,000       | 325           |
| \$50,000-75,000       | 640           |
| \$75,000-100,000      | 1,370         |
| \$100,000-200,000     | 4,305         |
| \$200,000+            | 66,240        |



## NOAM CHOMSKY

### A Life of Dissent

Robert F. Barsky

"I found Robert Barsky's biography of Noam Chomsky a comprehensive and compelling account of the scientific achievements and political engagements of one of this century's foremost intellectuals and social activists. Barsky convincingly demonstrates that independence of mind, freedom of spirit, and a passionate will to overcome social injustice, are the defining characteristics of Chomsky's fully-engaged life. This study will help a new generation of intellectuals to take up the unfinished business of this era—the construction of a meaningful democracy. It will serve also to raise those who are now weary and dispirited out of their lethargy. Barsky, with Chomsky as his subject and model, has written a text of hope." — Herbert I. Schiller, author of *Culture Inc.* and *Information Inequality*

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## **I** NTELLIGENCE

# Who will challenge the CIA?

“T

oday, the CIA's greatest mission may be saving itself,” intones the three-part documentary “CIA: America's Secret Warriors,” which aired on the Discovery Channel in March. “There are some who think it is a mission impossible.”

*The confirmation hearings for a new CIA director have become a forum for the teflon agency to confirm itself.*

As the CIA prepares to celebrate its 50th anniversary in July, the view from headquarters in Langley, Va., is that the agency's future is, in fact, quite secure. Since its inception as a small brotherhood of gung-ho covert operatives, the CIA has evolved into a massive clandestine bureaucracy. Today it boasts some 20,000 employees in the Washington, D.C., area, untold thousands of paid “assets” abroad and a classified budget estimated at more than \$1.5 billion.

The agency has been at the center of one foreign policy scandal after another in recent years: its complicity in human rights abuses in Guatemala; its failure to

detect that one of its top counterintelligence agents, Aldrich Ames, was a KGB mole; the Human Resources Exploitation Manual that advised Latin American militaries in the use of torture; and, most recently, the agency's failure to inform Washington about the presence of a chemical weapons depot in Iraq.

“The confidence of the public and the Congress in intelligence agencies [has] eroded amid evidence of instances of incompetence, allegations of wrongdoing, and a seeming lack of accountability,” states the Report of the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community, a blue-ribbon committee chartered by Congress in 1994 to appraise U.S. intelligence capabilities for the 21st century. Yet neither Congress nor the White House has made an effort to reform the agency's modus operandi.

The recent congressional mugging of Anthony Lake, Clinton's first nominee for director, demonstrated, once again, the enduring power of the CIA to divert any debate over its mission or its future. The confirmation hearings on Lake's replacement, George Tenet, scheduled to begin on April 22, is likely to affirm that power.

Members of the Senate Intelligence Committee attacked Lake on his integrity and management style. No one, however, asked probing questions about recent CIA scandals or raised the issue of whether the purpose, role and necessity of the agency in a post-Cold War world ought to be re-evaluated. The confirmation process, which could have served as a national referendum on how to overhaul the agency, became little more than a forum for the CIA to confirm itself.

Lake appeared to be a moderate and uncontroversial choice to lead the CIA into the next century. He began his government career as a young foreign service officer in 1962, with his first posting to Vietnam. In 1969, he joined the National Security Council as Henry Kissinger's personal aide working on Indochina. A member of what Kissinger called his “bleeding hearts club” on the war—Kissinger would subsequently order a wiretap on his subordinate's phone—Lake resigned on April 29, 1970 in protest over the escalation of the war into Cambodia. Lake returned to the foreign policy establishment as Jimmy Carter's assistant secretary for planning in the State Department in 1977. In 1992, when Clinton ran for president, Lake served as his senior foreign policy advisor on the campaign trail.

As national security advisor to the president, Lake's record on openness and accountability—key issues for the CIA—was mixed. He did help shed light on the CIA's past activities in Central America. In 1993, he authorized an unprecedented declassification of over 12,000 CIA, State Department and Pentagon records on human rights atrocities in El Salvador. His staff also launched a broad internal inquiry into years of

By Peter Kornbluh



U.S. involvement in abuses in Guatemala, after CIA ties to Colonel Julio Alpírez, the officer implicated in the deaths of innkeeper Michael DeVine and guerrilla commander Efraín Bámaca Velásquez were revealed in March 1995.

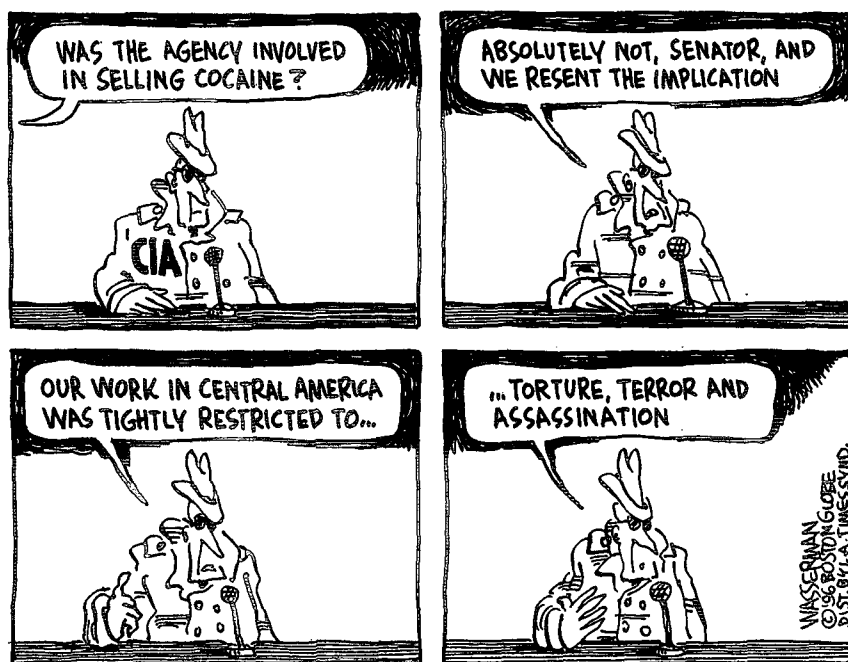
Yet, in other respects, Lake did not challenge the agency's secretive culture. Lake's National Security Council, for instance, did not defend Richard Nuccio, the State Department official who had given Alpírez's name to Congress, when the CIA retaliated against him by revoking his security clearance and thereby ended his government career. Lake also tacitly deceived members of Congress by not informing them of Clinton's secret policy supporting Iranian arms sales to Bosnia in 1994.

The Bosnia initiative was one of the issues seized upon by Lake's critics, led by the chairman of the Senate Select Intelligence Committee, Alabama Sen. Richard Shelby, and by Sens. James Inhofe of Oklahoma and Jon Kyl of Arizona. All three excoriated the nominee for his alleged "contempt of Congress." They also attacked the "breakdown" of his management system, which kept him out of the loop on his staff's handling of the Democratic National Committee's effort to get peddlers of foreign influence in to see the president.

Behind the effort "to bludgeon the nominee," as Montana's Democratic Sen. Max Baucus described the committee's treatment of Lake, was the opposition of members of the CIA's powerful Directorate of Operations. Current and former members of the Directorate call Lake "soft" and say they deplored his position on Vietnam and his role during the Carter administration in elevating human rights as a foreign policy issue. They also singled out for criticism a passage in Lake's 1990 book, *Somoza Falling*, that discussed the national protest over "covert operations run amok, against assassination attempts worthy of Borgias and ideas as ludicrous as the plan to provide doctored cigars for Castro that would make his beard fall out." According to one retired CIA official, Lake was "simply too damn liberal to have the job [of director]."

Lake's critics appeared to fear his reformist attitudes. Yet, during the confirmation hearings, central questions about the CIA's future failed to surface. Certainly, the nominee didn't raise them. Instead, in his opening remarks at the hearing, Lake offered unyielding support for the men and women who "are required to serve in obscurity" at the CIA. "When things go right," he noted, "most Americans never know."

According to Lake, the agency needs only "renovation." The intelligence community "has suffered from turbulence



and scandal," he said. "It's time to put the old problems behind us. We must complete our review of past events, correct our mistakes and begin to build for a new era."

When the CIA was created by the National Security Act of July 1947, covert operations were authorized under a "catch-all" contingency clause that stated that the new agency should "perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct." The "original concept," according to Clark Clifford, who helped draft the act, was that covert operations "were to be carefully limited and controlled."

Instead, covert action quickly became a dominant instrument of U.S. foreign policy. Such operations escalated under a Truman directive dated June 18, 1948, which created, within the CIA, the Office of Policy Coordination "to counter the vicious covert activities of the USSR." The directive authorized "deniable" covert actions related to "propaganda, economic warfare, preventive direct action, including sabotage, anti-sabotage, demolition ... subversion against hostile states, including assistance to underground resistance movements, guerrillas and refugee liberation groups, and support of indigenous anti-communist elements in threatened countries in the free world."

The agency has since been involved in paramilitary wars, coups, assassination attempts and all sorts of other "dirty tricks," which have resulted in one foreign policy embarrassment after another. In the wake of revelations about these dubious practices, the Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities—known as the Church Committee for its chairman, the late Sen. Frank Church—conducted the first and only major congressional evaluation of covert operations in 1975.

The Committee's report asserted that there was a "basic

tension—if not incompatibility—of covert operations and the demands of a constitutional system.” If policy and oversight procedures could not be developed to ensure that covert operations would be “an exceptional act,” undertaken only when overt means would not suffice and dire national security required it, the Church Committee concluded, “then covert action should be abandoned as an instrument of foreign policy.”

Since the Church Committee issued its findings 20 years ago, the CIA has continued to commit what Lake termed “mistakes.” Notwithstanding the collapse of the Soviet Union, and with it the end of the original *raison d’être* for covert operations, only one senator, New York Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, has urged that the future of the CIA be subject to discussion. In January 1995, Moynihan introduced the Central Intelligence Agency Abolition Act, which called for eliminating the Directorate of Operations and consolidating its intelligence-gathering apparatus with the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

“Secrecy is a disease,” Moynihan stated on the Senate floor. “The scrutiny that has now visited the intelligence community increases the likelihood that some long-needed assessments will be made.”

Such an assessment would need to answer these principal questions:

- Should the agency have to divulge its evidence of human rights injustices committed by agents on its payroll?
- Does the U.S. government still need a covert operations

capability in the 21st century?

- Is the use of covert operations compatible with the democratic values and political structures of the United States?
- Is congressional “oversight” adequate to control the CIA?

The forthcoming confirmation hearings of George Tenet provide another opportunity to discuss these core issues. But don’t hold your breath. Stung by the derailment of Lake’s nomination, Clinton opted for a candidate unlikely to ruffle the feathers of intelligence committee members or CIA bureaucrats. Sen. Shelby has already signaled his intention to shepherd Tenet through the nomination process. According to his former boss, John Deutch, Tenet has been “the guiding light of the Directorate of Operations,” and has the avid support of the hardliners who brought down Lake’s nomination.

Unlike most career intelligence or military officers who have become CIA director, Tenet’s qualifications are an amalgam of staff positions: staff director for the Senate Select Intelligence Committee from 1989 to 1992; director of the National Security Council’s intelligence programs in 1993-94; and deputy director of central intelligence under Deutch until late 1996.

Some former colleagues believe Tenet could be effective. “He was in charge of successfully overseeing the ‘scrub,’ ” observes one former NSC official, referring to the hundreds who were removed from the CIA’s payroll late last year because their criminality was deemed to outweigh their value as intelligence sources. “You have to give him credit for that.”

At the hearing, the nominee will have to answer for the latest CIA scandal: the agency’s failure to alert the Pentagon that the Khamisiyah arms depot in Iraq was a chemical weapons depot before U.S. forces blew it up in 1991. Only seven weeks ago, Tenet himself testified before Congress that the CIA had been unaware that chemical weapons were stored at that site—a claim that turned out to be false.

Tenet’s role in the Nuccio affair may also come under scrutiny. While Tenet signed a September 19, 1996 letter to the State Department concluding that Nuccio’s top security clearance should be revoked, multiple press reports have identified Tenet himself as having confirmed Alpiroz’s identity to the *New York Times*.

While both of these issues raise far graver questions of management abilities, credibility and integrity than were put to Anthony Lake, no one in Washington expects them to even slow down Tenet’s nomination train.

“If you violate the fundamental principles of the United States in the name of defending them, what do you have left?” former CIA director Stansfield Turner said in an interview in the Discovery Channel documentary. At Tenet’s hearings, that question is unlikely to be asked, let alone answered. ◀

Peter Kornbluh is a senior analyst at the National Security Archive, a public-interest documentation center in Washington, D.C.

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## A R G E N T I N A

# The Dirty War's family secrets

O

*A former military officer faces kidnapping charges for taking a baby from a "disappeared" woman.*

By Marta Gurvich

ver the phone, the ex-Argentine military doctor spoke with a controlled politeness. "We had a family meeting," he explained patiently, "and decided not to comment about the case with the press."

With only a hint of exasperation, the doctor then fended off my inquiries seeking a response to the charges against him. He had always acted in "good faith," he insisted, "in accordance with the Geneva Conventions for a military doctor in an anti-subversive war or in any other war." When asked if he had adopted the two Argentine children whom he had raised, he responded opaquely, "They are my children."

In two phone conversations earlier this year from his exile in Paraguay, Norberto Atilio Bianco sounded nothing like the medical monster that the case against him would suggest. He was firm but courteous, declaring that he did not

want to sound "authoritarian." Only briefly did Bianco express annoyance, when he talked about "journalists [who] have been climbing on trees to film or take photographs." He even requested that I voluntarily end the second conversation so that he would not be forced to hang up.

But Bianco stands accused in Argentina of participating in one of the Dirty War's most disturbing practices. According to witnesses from the military hospital at Argentina's Campo de Mayo, Bianco oversaw nighttime Caesarean sections or induced early deliveries of babies of "disappeared" women who were kept alive only long enough to give birth.

A few minutes after the deliveries, Bianco would take the babies away from the mothers and then drive the women to a nearby military airport, witnesses have told the official Argentine truth commission, known as CONADEP. At the airport, prisoners, including these women, were sedated, shackled together in groups of 30, and loaded

onto Hercules military cargo planes. At about 11 p.m., according to commission testimony, the planes flew out over the Rio de la Plata or the Atlantic Ocean, and the victims were tossed into the dark water below.

Back at the hospital, witnesses said, some of the babies went to orphanages, but most were given to Argentine military officers. Military wives, some of whom could not have children themselves, welcomed the infants. The babies sometimes arrived wrapped in army coats.

"There is no precedent that I know of for this type of case, the secret police systematically stealing the fruit of the womb of the people they tortured and killed," declared Roberto Juan Marquevich, one Argentine judge who dealt with the lost baby cases in the '90s.

During the Dirty War from the mid-'70s through the early '80s, Argentina's military disappeared as many as 30,000 Argentines, according to estimates by human rights groups. Some of the most difficult cases to solve were the mysteries surrounding the missing babies. The military recognized that the children had to be kept in the dark about their origins. "The leaders of the Dirty War were afraid that the children of the disappeared would grow up hating the Argentine army because of the fate of their parents," the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights reported in 1987. "The anguish generated in the rest of the surviving family because of the absence of the disappeared would develop, after a few years, into a new generation of subversive or potentially subversive elements, thereby not permitting an effective end to the Dirty War."

The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, a group formed in 1977 to search for these babies, estimates that as many as 500 infants were born in the detention camps. After years of detective work, the Grandmothers documented the identities





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of 256 missing babies. Of those, however, only 56 children were ever located and seven of them had died.

Aided by recent breakthroughs in genetic testing, the Grandmothers have returned 31 of the children to their biological families. Thirteen were raised jointly by their adoptive and biological families, and six cases are still the subject of court custody battles. In some of the cases, the children—now young adults raised in comfortable surroundings as wards of military officers—have resisted being reunited with their natural families.

Then, in the '90s, military leaders made rumblings about a new coup d'état if the civilian government continued efforts to punish officers for the Dirty War. To pacify a disgruntled military, the civilian government pardoned senior officers. Key documents about human rights crimes were destroyed.

The case against Dr. Bianco, therefore, stands as one of the Dirty War's last active disputes. It continues to this day because an agronomist named Abel Madariaga has pressed a legal claim that his son may have been kidnapped by Bianco, who also allegedly participated in murdering the boy's mother, Madariaga's wife, Silvia Quintela.

This March, after lengthy negotiations, Paraguay extradited Bianco and his wife, Susana Wehrli, to Argentina, to face kidnapping and other charges. Upon their arrival in Argentina, Judge Marquevich found sufficient evidence to

believe that the couple's son and a daughter—who remain in Paraguay—were the children of disappeared women. Bianco and Wehrli were jailed pending trial.

As in other struggles to extract truth from the Cold War's shadowy violence, justice in this case has been long in coming.

The story of Madariaga's lost son began more than two decades ago, on the morning of January 17, 1977. Silvia Quintela, then 28 and four-months pregnant with her first child, was walking along Hipolito Irigoyen Street in a middle-class neighborhood in suburban Buenos Aires. It was summer in South America and the slight brown-haired woman, a medical doctor by training, was planning to meet a friend at a train station and then head downtown on business.

Like many other Argentines, Silvia Quintela was a Peronista, a follower of the populist military officer and political leader, Juan Perón. During their studies at the School of Medicine in Buenos Aires, Quintela and her husband were members of the Peronist Youth. As a surgeon, Silvia Quintela treated the poor at a small clinic in the town of Beccar, near a shantytown called La Cava. She was also active in the province's medical association.

In 1973, Perón won election as president, but his death the next year put his third wife, Isabel, in office. In 1976, with inflation running rampant and political turmoil spread-



ing, the military seized power and declared a "state of siege." In secret, military death squads began rounding up and eliminating thousands of political opponents. A chilling new word entered the lexicon of repression: the disappeared.

As human rights allegations mounted, Amnesty International sent an investigative team that verified some cases of illegal detentions and killings. But in Washington on December 31, 1976, Henry Kissinger's State Department assured Congress that "torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment have not been general practice in Argentina."

Less than three weeks later, Silvia Quintela became one of the army's growing number of targets. At about 9:30 a.m. on January 17, three Ford Falcons screeched to a stop around Quintela. Men in civilian clothes jumped out of the cars and grabbed her. They forced her into one of the Falcons and sped away. That afternoon, seven men in civilian clothes broke into the home of Silvia's mother, Luisa Quintela. After tearing up the rooms, they told Mrs. Quintela that her daughter had been arrested.

Immediately, Luisa Quintela and Silvia's husband Madariaga began searching for Silvia. But Madariaga's life was in danger, too, so he fled Argentina. He sought political asylum in Brazil and later in Sweden. But wherever he went, Madariaga asked Argentines who had escaped the detention camps what they might know about Silvia.

Back in Argentina, women whose sons and daughters had disappeared founded a group called Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, named after the plaza in front of the Pink House (the presidential offices). Each Thursday, the women would don white kerchiefs and march around the plaza carrying photos of their missing children.

Because of the number of pregnant women who had disappeared, a second group was founded called Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo. The Grandmothers looked for the babies in orphanages, examined records of adoptions and collected information from nurses and doctors who had treated the pregnant women and their babies. But the state of siege made the searches difficult. Some of the nurses who gave information also disappeared.

As international concern mounted, Patricia Derian, Jimmy Carter's new assistant secretary of state for human rights, made the Argentine Dirty War one of her top causes. Though the Argentine military denounced Derian's interference, the lives of some high-profile captives were spared. But the Argentine military also had U.S. allies. One was Ronald Reagan, who publicly defended the generals. In one radio commentary, Reagan told his listeners that Derian "should walk a mile in the moccasins" of the Argentine officers before criticizing them.

After Reagan won the White House in 1980, he quickly restored friendly ties with Buenos Aires. In 1981, Reagan even authorized the CIA to collaborate with Argentine intelligence in training the Nicaraguan contra rebels in Honduras. But the days of the dictatorship were numbered. In

1982, the British defeated Argentina in a war over the Falkland Islands, and the next year, the disgraced military regime collapsed.

To resolve the cases of thousands of disappeared, new President Raúl Alfonsín created CONADEP to collect testimony from survivors and witnesses. Madariaga also returned to Argentina and intensified the search for his wife. In the months that followed, the story of Silvia Quintela and her baby slowly came into focus.

Testifying before CONADEP, Beatriz Castiglione de Covarrubias, a survivor of the detention center at Campo de Mayo, recognized a photo of Silvia Quintela and recalled that Quintela was held at the camp while her pregnancy progressed.

Juan Scarpetti, another Campo de Mayo survivor, reported that Quintela gave him medical treatment when he arrived unconscious. When he awoke, he recognized Quintela, whom he had known when they were both members of the Peronist Youth. Scarpetti testified that Quintela gave birth to a boy some time during the second quarter of 1977. He said he never saw her again.

At the Campo de Mayo hospital, according to other witnesses, pregnant women were kept under guard and either blindfolded or forced to wear black sunglasses. Even during labor, the women were tied hand and foot to their beds. Some were given experimental treatments to accelerate the births. Others were subjected to Caesarean sections. Witnesses identified Maj. Norberto Atilio Bianco as one of the doctors in charge.

Dr. Silvia Cecilia Bonsignore de Petrillo testified that on one Sunday in 1977, she was called in from home to perform an urgent Caesarean. When she arrived, she found soldiers patrolling the floor and Bianco in his military uniform. Bianco ordered Bonsignore to operate on a pregnant woman he had brought to the hospital. Bonsignore recalled that the patient was a thin woman with dark hair. "She cried inconsolably during the Caesarean," said Bonsignore, who called the surgery "the bitterest moment" of her life.

Another camp doctor, Jorge Comaleras, testified that Bianco was also in charge of removing the mothers after they gave birth. Bianco took them away in his own car, a Ford Falcon, Comaleras said. The women were driven to the airfield at Campo de Mayo, where the Hercules cargo planes departed shortly before midnight. The planes headed in a southeasterly direction toward the Atlantic and returned about an hour later. Silvia Quintela apparently was put aboard one of the death flights, the Grandmothers concluded.

But the fate of Quintela's son remained a mystery. Madariaga discovered that during the Dirty War, Bianco and his wife, Susana Wehrli, registered two children as their own: a girl, Carolina, in October 1976, and a boy, Pablo, on September 1, 1977. But no one had seen Wehrli pregnant, and a friend recalled that Wehrli had once confided that the babies were adopted. The birth certificates were purportedly signed



by two doctors who had worked with Bianco, but the courts concluded that the certificates were bogus.

**B**ased on the testimony about Silvia Quintela giving birth to a son in the second quarter of 1977 and the September 1 date on the boy's birth certificate, Madariaga suspected that Pablo Bianco might be Silvia's baby. In the Argentine Federal Criminal Court, Madariaga accused Bianco of kidnapping. Madariaga demanded a genetic analysis on Pablo to determine the boy's true identity.

In 1986, an Argentine judge ordered the genetic test. But the Biancos could not be found. In 1987, another Argentine judge sought the couple's arrest and requested an Interpol search. Finally, after Bianco and his wife were located in Asunción, Paraguay that same year, the judge sought their extradition back to Argentina. Three Paraguayan courts approved the motion, but another court accepted Bianco's appeal that the extradition would endanger his two children.

In response to that ruling, the Grandmothers asked the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to compel Paraguay to return Bianco to Argentina. In the meantime, the Biancos lived under a form of house arrest in Asunción, though both were allowed to work. Wehrli was a teacher at a Catholic school, and Bianco was a doctor working for a private company.

When I reached Wehrli by phone in Paraguay, she refused to discuss the case and referred calls to her lawyer, Guilda Fatima Burgstaller. The lawyer did not respond. But

after repeated attempts, I finally reached Bianco by phone. He was eerily calm and polite, seemingly determined to present an image as a reasonable person.

"I won't defend myself in the press," the exiled doctor declared, his voice level. "I've only presented my case to the courts. This is the position I've been holding in silence for many years, and I won't change now." Bianco then added, without clarification, "Those of us who have acted in good faith are suffering this disgrace."

He defended his actions. "Those who know me—they are not a few—know who I am, know about my good will, know that I always considered that human rights is a life principle," he said. "Human rights has to be practiced in each act of life. ... I did nothing I should feel ashamed about. And this is all I'm going to say because I do not want to comment."

Patricia Derian, Jimmy Carter's assistant secretary of state for human rights, shook her head when asked to comment on the Bianco case. "I have a hard time understanding the willingness of people to commit these kinds of acts," Derian remarked at her home in Alexandria, Va. "But their later lives are equally grotesque as they wrap themselves in a cloak of normalcy. ... Maybe your conscience is like your outer layer of skin. It just keeps flaking off all the time until you have a whole new layer of skin."

**A**fter their extradition to Argentina in March, Bianco and Wehrli conceded in court that they were not the biological parents of Pablo and Carolina, but denied that they had kidnapped the children. The couple insisted that they had the consent of the biological mothers. To determine the real identity of the children, Judge Marquovich again urged Paraguay to conduct a genetic analysis on the two children.

So far, however, Pablo and Carolina have refused to cooperate with the investigation. Luis Alfonso Resck, a consultant to the human rights department of the General Prosecutor's office in Paraguay, met with the Biancos and the two children last November. Both Carolina, 20, and Pablo, 19, are now married, and Carolina brought along her own two small children.

At the conference, Carolina and Pablo announced that they did not want to return to Argentina or to meet with the Grandmothers, Resck said. The two young adults accepted that they were adopted. But both declared that they consider the Biancos to be their parents. Carolina and Pablo simply wanted to get on with their lives, Resck said.

The Grandmothers, however, cite a recent Argentine Supreme Court ruling requiring genetic analysis on all suspected children of the disappeared. The Grandmothers have also detected some softening in Carolina and Pablo's resistance to a meeting. Since the extradition of Bianco and Wehrli, the two young adults may, finally, be edging toward a decision to examine the fate of their biological mothers. ◀ **Marta Gurvich** is an Argentine journalist on a Fulbright/Antorchas scholarship in New York. The Nation Institute's investigative unit made its resources available to her in preparing this story.

## Infusion

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Tools for Action and Education

# Devil's Night and fog

By Jim McNeill

Every year, on the night before Halloween, Detroit's already bleak inner city grows a little more grim. With camera crews looking on, unruly Detroiters take to the streets of the city's poorest neighborhoods and begin torching abandoned buildings. It's a perverse ritual known as Devil's Night, a lurid media spectacle seemingly designed to confirm America's worst prejudices about the urban poor. Conservatives could hardly ask for clearer evidence that the decline of the nation's inner cities has been driven by the self-destructive behavior of the poor themselves.

Of course, it was arguments like this that dominated last year's epic battle over welfare reform. In that one-sided fight, GOP (and DLC) combatants blamed phenomena like Devil's Night on welfare's corrosive influence. The anti-poverty programs of the '60s, they argued, had coddled the urban poor and locked them into a life of pathological dependency. Consequently, the cure is not to throw more money at these "underclass" deviants, but to wean them from their morally debilitating addiction to welfare.

Such arguments are bunk, of course, but they pack a visceral punch. By contrast, left-liberal arguments about the structural roots of urban poverty are often too amorphous to satisfy even true believers.

Fortunately, Thomas J. Sugrue's *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* is anything but vague. In this important new history of post-World War II Detroit, Sugrue solidly refutes conservative theories about welfare dependency and deepens liberal thinking about the underlying causes of urban poverty. Dispensing with polemics, Sugrue, an historian at the University of Pennsylvania, has conducted a careful "case study" of Detroit's decline. He argues that Detroit's fall started not with the Great Society programs of the '60s, but with the often overlooked deindustrialization of the late '40s and '50s.

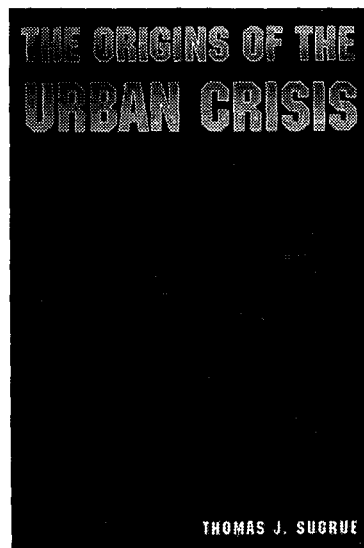
Writers other than Sugrue have analyzed the deindustrialization of the '50s, but none has so meticulously documented its role in the decline of the inner city. Even William Julius Wilson, in his three famous books about the urban poor, doesn't offer as much detail about the '50s. Sugrue painstakingly sifts through employment figures, housing statistics and demographic data to show that African-Americans were hit

first—and hardest—by deindustrialization because racial discrimination had confined them to overcrowded ghettos, denied them access to stable employment and deprived them of the political power necessary to effectively contest such treatment. Even as U.S. policy-makers celebrated the creation of millions of new industrial jobs during the '50s, Detroit lost roughly half its manufacturing base. In fact, every major Northern city experienced a net loss of industrial jobs during that decade, as manufacturers fled to the low-wage South. (The social spending supposedly showered on Detroit in the '60s paled in comparison to the billions of dollars in defense spending diverted to the Sun Belt states.)

By studying postwar Detroit, Sugrue writes, we can begin to untangle the "complex and interwoven histories of race, residence and work" in the impoverished inner cities of the Rust Belt. In Detroit, as in every other Northern metropolis, the large-scale migration of blacks from the rural South provoked a less-than-friendly response from most whites. By the '20s, soon after substantial numbers of African-Americans first arrived in the city, white Detroiters had erected a daunting array of racial barriers to keep blacks bottled up in the central city. Key among those barriers were racial covenants on deeds that forbade sales to blacks. Even after the Supreme Court outlawed racial covenants in 1948, the Detroit Mayor's Interracial Committee reported that "credit controls and the restrictive practices of the real estate brotherhood are holding the line" against black movement into white areas.

The frankly racist cast of the New Deal's home-lending programs reinforced the city's black-and-white division. As a matter of policy, federal lending agencies refused to subsidize mortgages in neighborhoods that had even a small number of African-Americans. Consequently, home-builders systematically avoided selling new houses to blacks. Of the 186,000 single-family homes built in metropolitan Detroit during the '40s, only 1,500 were available to black buyers. As late as 1951, black buyers could realistically look at no more than 1.2 percent of the new homes built in the Detroit area—even though African-Americans comprised more than 16 percent of the city's population.

This chronic shortage



**The Origins of the Urban Crisis:  
Race and Inequality in Postwar  
Detroit**

By Thomas J. Sugrue  
Princeton University Press  
408 pp., \$35

of housing for blacks was compounded by postwar highway and urban renewal projects. City planners generally avoided white areas when constructing highways, preferring instead to plow through the neighborhoods of politically powerless African-Americans. Likewise, urban renewal projects usually targeted black areas for clearance and made few, if any, provisions for resettling displaced residents. With African-Americans desperate for housing, Detroit landlords were able to charge them premium rates for miserable apartments. Throughout the '40s and '50s, black renters paid from 20 percent to 40 percent more than whites for equivalent apartments.

Despite the many obstacles to their mobility, Detroit's blacks slowly pushed beyond the boundaries of the central city ghettos and into traditionally white neighborhoods. Nevertheless, African-American pioneers moving into white areas almost always met fierce resistance from white homeowners associations, which sprouted like weeds in the '40s. Though routinely overlooked in most postwar histories, this "crabgrassroots" movement of angry white homeowners became one of the most potent political forces in Detroit (and in dozens of other Northern cities). In Detroit's 1949 mayoral election, the city's overwhelmingly blue-collar and Democratic voters decisively rejected a United Auto Workers-backed liberal who favored open housing laws. Instead, they elected Republican Albert Cobo, a neanderthal businessman who staunchly opposed residential integration. With the backing of the homeowners associations, Cobo won re-election three more times, remaining in office until his death in 1957. As Sugrue notes, Cobo's reign showed that the white working-class backlash against the Democratic Party "did not emerge de novo from the alleged failures of liberalism in the '60s." It was already brewing in the '40s.

This is a crucial point, one that explicitly challenges Thomas and Mary Edsall's influential 1991 book, *Chain Reaction*. The Edsalls, like Democrat-identified liberals from Samuel Freedman to Michael Tomasky, hold that the Democrats lost their way in the '60s and '70s when they abandoned the multiracial ideal of New Deal liberalism, embraced affirmative action and became associated with the excesses of black radicalism and big government. But the many "Cobo Democrats" force us to ask how multiracial the New Deal coalition really was. Was the turn to the racial politics of the '60s really an unnecessary mistake that doomed the Democrats with white voters, or was it an inevitable second act to the no less racial politics of the New Deal?

Although Sugrue's analysis of housing patterns in postwar Detroit is impressive, it's not what truly distinguishes *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* from other books about inner-city poverty. Despite Sugrue's sweeping statement that "the origins of the urban crisis are much earlier than social scientists have recognized," he is not the first to describe the early impact of residential segregation on the urban North. In their 1993 book, *American Apartheid*, Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton touch on many pre-'60s

practices that harmed black communities, including redlining by federal lending agencies and organizing by white homeowners associations. Where Sugrue really excels is in his unflinching look at the impact of employment patterns and corporate policies on Detroit's black work force.

For a time, the World War II boom in industrial employment did offer unprecedented opportunities to black Detroiters. Though African-Americans comprised just 4 percent of the local auto industry's prewar work force, they filled 15 percent of its jobs by 1945. Still, Detroit's carmakers were hardly enlightened employers. They systematically assigned blacks to the least skilled and most dangerous jobs. One auto company official explained that few whites would work in the notoriously toxic paint rooms so he gave the jobs to black workers. He admitted that such work "shortens their lives ... but they're just niggers." Because black workers were clustered at the industry's lowest skill levels, the growth of automation in the '50s tended to eliminate their jobs first. When plants closed altogether, whites tended to have more seniority, giving them greater opportunities to transfer to other factories.

Managers were hardly the only ones to blame for the inferior status of black autoworkers. White employees regularly protested the hiring and upgrading of African-American workers. Although the UAW officially promoted anti-discrimination policies, union leaders were often reluctant to force the issue with racist rank-and-filers. Consequently, some auto plants remained overwhelmingly white, and most of the highly prized skilled-trades jobs remained the preserve of an all-white elite.

Outside the auto industry, blacks' prospects for stable employment were even worse. Vast segments of the Detroit economy—tool and die shops, breweries, the building trades—remained virtually off-limits to African-Americans. In 1948, 75 percent of the unskilled job listings at employment agencies and in Michigan newspapers specifically excluded blacks.

Even during the best years of the '50s, when virtually all white Detroiters were working, the black unemployment rate rarely dipped below 10 percent. The freefall during the '50s in local manufacturing wiped out entry-level positions in industry—a particular problem for black youths, since they were locked out of most apprentice programs in the construction industry. Thirty-five percent of 19-year-old black males were without work in 1960, while only 8.9 percent of white males the same age were. At the end of the '50s, the Detroit Urban League reported that black job seekers were becoming increasingly dispirited, "developing patterns of boredom and hopelessness with the present state of affairs." A sociologist who interviewed Detroit blacks in 1957 and 1958—a decade before the devastating riot of 1967—found them deeply angry over dismal job prospects and segregated neighborhoods. Asked what would happen if another Great Depression hit, one respondent insisted, "Everybody would get a ball bat and start swinging." Another responded



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prophetically, "There'd be widespread riots."

Not everyone in America was oblivious to the bitter economic changes sweeping Detroit in the '50s. Sen. Paul Douglas, an Illinois Democrat, warned in 1953 that "Detroit is going to have tough times," and co-sponsored legislation in 1955 to provide economic development funds for the nation's growing number of "depressed areas." President Eisenhower killed the bill, however, and concerted federal action against poverty had to wait until President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society initiatives. Those programs—though generous by today's mean-spirited standards—were hardly sufficient to meet the problems of cities like Detroit.

As Sugrue notes, LBJ's employment programs focused on improving the job skills of the poor instead of on bolstering the dwindling supply of decent jobs, especially in cities. Ultimately, Sugrue argues, LBJ and all postwar presidents have failed to confront the greatest cause of inner-city poverty: the flow of factories from the Rust Belt to the Sun Belt and, more recently, overseas.

"The forms and distribution of postindustrial poverty are novel," Sugrue writes. Compared to the urban poor from previous eras, today's inner-city dwellers are less likely to

participate in the labor market and more likely to live in highly segregated, desperately impoverished neighborhoods. (Sugrue's description of contemporary conditions largely follows that of William Julius Wilson, though Sugrue argues that black middle-class institutions did not leave the ghetto as early or as completely as Wilson believes, and thus that the inner-city poor's isolation from middle-class role models is not a major factor in their poverty.) Given the magnitude of the economic changes that have swept America's inner cities, it seems absurd to suggest, as Charles Murray and others do, that the cultural traits of inner-city dwellers have largely created the urban crisis. Sugrue shows that the crisis, sadly, is "deeper, more tangled, and perhaps more intractable" than theorists like Murray can admit.

Sugrue's book, like the city it studies, is bleak. And in the current political climate, there's little reason to hope that policy-makers will heed its lessons. But perhaps by offering a clearer picture of how the urban crisis began, Sugrue brings us a little bit closer to finding a way to end it. ◀

Jim McNeill, a former managing editor of *In These Times*, is co-writing an oral history of Chicago Housing Authority residents who lived in public housing between 1940 and 1960.

# I N P R I N T

## A lifetime on the left

By James Weinstein

At age 87, Victor Rabinowitz has published a memoir about his life as a socialist and one-time Communist lawyer. His book fits loosely into a 30-year tradition of autobiographies by former Communists—some confessionals, others self-justifications and still others lame attempts at exploring the reasons for the party's collapse. *Unrepentant Leftist*, however, is not a history of the party's politics or of its internal life. As the title suggests, it is the story of a man who has devoted his life to promoting and defending his principles. Rabinowitz revisits the Great Depression, the Cold War and the civil rights movement, both as a participant in the politics of the time and as a lawyer for labor activists and leftists under government attack. This provides us with a rare unapologetic view of the American left in the years leading up to and including the Cold War.

Soon after graduating from law school in 1934, Rabinowitz began his career as a labor lawyer, working in a firm headed by Louis Boudin, an erudite legal scholar and a once-prominent left-wing socialist. At the firm, he met and became good friends with Louis' nephew, Leonard Boudin. The two young lawyers later became partners in their own firm. Of the two, Leonard Boudin, who considered himself to be apolitical, became the more public figure—recognized across the political spectrum as one of America's great constitutional lawyers. Rabinowitz, on the other hand, involved himself more directly in the activities and lives of his clients.

In the years before the Cold War and the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act (which required union officials to sign non-Communist oaths), Rabinowitz was intimately involved with a number of left-led unions, most notably the American Communications Association. He was a founder and sometime president of the National Lawyers Guild, and was involved in the American Labor Party, a third party organized in New York in 1936 to help garner workers' votes for Franklin D. Roosevelt's first re-election. Rabi-

nowitz helped found the ALP and continued to be active in the party in Brooklyn, both as a leader and candidate, until shortly before its demise in the early '50s. Later, after the Cuban Revolution of 1958, he and Boudin entered the world of international law as Cuba's legal representatives in the United States. For many years, they fought a series of frustrating legal battles against the U.S. government's freezing of Cuban assets in the United States and against other U.S. actions that amounted to a denial of Cuba's right to self-determination.

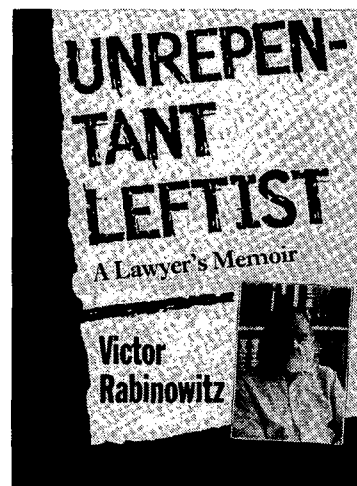
In recounting his experiences over more than half a century, Rabinowitz is particularly effective in bringing back to life both the atmosphere and the underlying legal and social issues of the Cold War witch hunts. He vividly describes his encounters with Sen. Joe McCarthy and his staff and with the members and counsel of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. His tales about the social connections and attitudes of various federal judges, as well as the political nature of their decisions, give an insider's view of our courts in operation.

Throughout all of this, Rabinowitz tells us, he experienced nothing to undermine his belief in the inhumanity of capitalism or his commitment to socialism as an alternative social system.

From 1942 to 1960, Rabinowitz was also a member of the Communist Party. Joining it, he says, was "not a Big Event" in his life. Since 1938, when he got intimately involved with various left-led unions and the ALP, he had been "surrounded" by party members, most of whom he admired, and many of whom seemed intent on recruiting him.

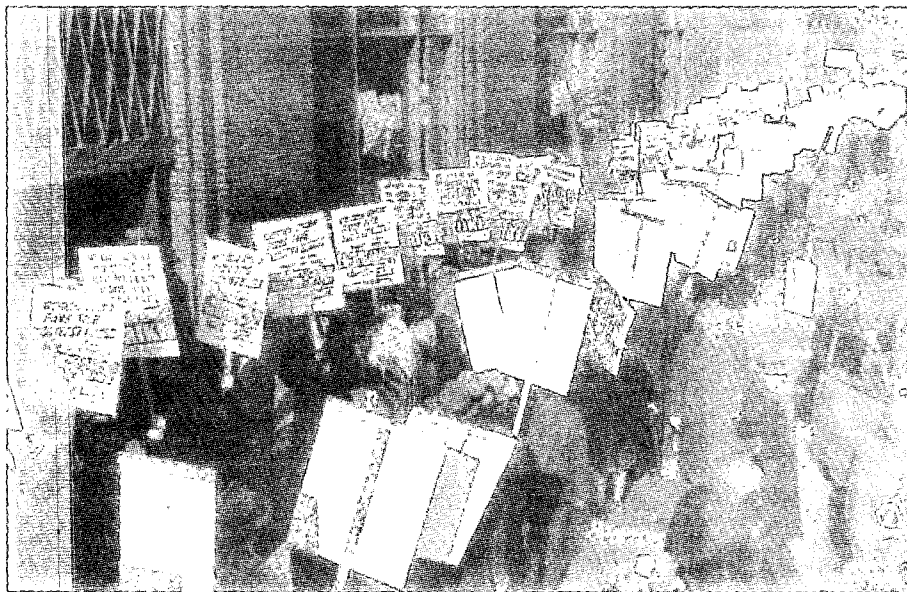
By the mid-'30s, the Communist Party had transformed itself into the most ardent defender of American democracy, and—greatly strengthened by its ties to the Soviet Union—had replaced the Socialist Party as the major force on the left. Rabinowitz does not devote much attention to the nature of the party, but he notes that like "most of the rank-and-file Party members," he was "more interested in works than in faith." And, in fact, his book is strong evidence that there was not one, but two Communist parties.

The first party consisted of rank-and-file members like Rabinowitz, whose affiliation with the party stemmed from their involvement in the labor movement, or in campaigns to defend civil liberties or to fight against



**Unrepentant Leftist:**  
A Lawyer's Memoir  
By Victor Rabinowitz  
University of Illinois Press  
346 pp., \$29.95





Western Union workers on strike in New York City, January 1946.

racial and gender discrimination. They tended to be people who cherished the gains that working people had made over a century of struggles in the course of American capitalist development. Many of them grew up in the period when the old Socialist Party had led these struggles. To these rank-and-file Communists, as to the old Socialists, socialism meant popular participation in the political process and the fulfillment of the promise of American democracy.

The second party, made up of the leadership, consisted mostly of apparatchiks dependent on their loyalty to the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. For them, pluralist democracy was at most a slogan rather than a principle. The American party was modeled on the Soviet one, whose authoritarianism was rooted in Russian history. The Soviet party, of course, had been created to function in tsarist Russia—a semifeudal country in which the kinds of struggles that were commonplace in the United States were grounds for a trip to Siberia. In that situation, the Russian party had to function as an underground force organized along military lines. Then, after the revolution, largely out of necessity, the Soviet party settled on a policy of forced industrialization, which also required a political system more closely resembling tsarism than anything that Western socialists knew or wanted. Soviet citizens enjoyed none of the rights so assiduously fought for by the American left. Independent labor unions and rival political parties were taboo. Only after fascism triumphed in Germany did the Communist International espouse democratic political rights, and then only as a temporary expedient for those outside the Soviet Union.

The careers of American party leaders depended on close adherence to signals from abroad. This dependency explains the party's well-known pattern of sudden policy

changes. One notable example was the American party's abandonment of anti-fascist organizing after the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939. Another wrenching change in direction occurred in 1947, after the newly organized Cominform declared that the greatest danger facing the working class at the moment was the underestimation of its own strength. That proclamation prompted the American party to take the lead in forming the narrowly based Progressive Party, after years of supporting New Deal Democrats, thus hastening the isolation of the left in the postwar years. Changes like these help explain the very high rate of membership turnover throughout the party's life span.

As Rabinowitz implicitly suggests, most party members in the trenches, who saw themselves as defenders of

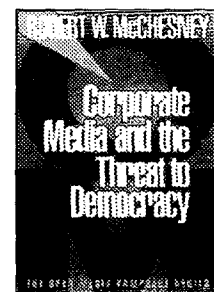
working people and the democratic gains made through popular struggle, sometimes found themselves at odds with the party leadership. Rabinowitz recounts instances when tactical decisions imposed from above interfered with the work of rank-and-file members. He tells about one event when the party pressured him and his fellow ALP members to withdraw an independent candidate for Congress in Brooklyn because the leadership had made a deal with a corrupt Democrat. Rabinowitz and his associates refused, but the party's withdrawal of full support helped assure the candidate's defeat.

The great value of Rabinowitz's book is that it sympathetically portrays left politics in the pre-'60s era. For those who were then active on the left, his book will be a sharp and sometimes painful reminder of exciting times. For those who missed this experience, the book powerfully recreates the atmosphere, events and political culture of that time.

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## SPEED READING

## In defense of TV

By Pat Aufderheide

*Smoke and Mirrors: Violence, Television and Other American Cultures*by John Leonard  
New Press  
290 pp., \$23

A few years back, a small clutch of us critics in town for the Toronto Festival of Festivals stumbled out of a morning screening and headed for a restaurant. My brilliant, late colleague Jay Scott, who worked for the local paper, declined to join us. He had to confect an opinion about the morning's experiences and file it for the next day's paper, before returning to the film festival for two more screenings—and two more reviews.

"Sausages," he muttered about this instant attitudinizing. "We're making sausages."

When you work as a popular culture critic, it's easy to feel like a sausagemaker—or like Lucy at the candy factory, helplessly trailing in your efforts to process the flow of product. Somewhere along the line, as you're rapidly losing patience with the whole business, it dawns on you that there are people out there who actually volunteer for, or even pay for, this experience.

John Leonard's entire adult life has been spent on the commercial-culture assembly line, yet he hasn't yet lost sight of the "civilians"—his term for those whose interest in television and movies is other than professional. In addition to writing books, he's been a TV and literary critic for a range of cultural arbiters: the *New York Times*, *Newsday*, CBS Sunday Morning and *New York* magazine. He and his wife Sue are currently literary editors at the *Nation*.

It would be easy to stoop, from the vantage point of Serious Literature, to sneer at TV. But Leonard's criticism takes programming seriously, and it draws freely on his other cultural passions. This is a guy who quotes Goethe in the same paragraph as Murphy Brown, and borrows from Christa Wolf and Don DeLillo to explicate TV storytelling techniques. He thinks nothing of dropping references to Fatch-

pur Sikri, Mike Gold and the Statler Brothers into the mix. Indeed, he sometimes seems unable to help it.

Since so many TV critics take on a dumber-than-thou persona, and most of the rest find glum refuge in being curmudgeonly, Leonard's cheerful erudition can be exhilarating. At the same time, it can also come across as a critic's desperate attempt to deal with a 24-hour-a-day pop culture churning out product at record speeds.

All these qualities are on display in *Smoke and Mirrors*, Leonard's latest compilation of his ruminations and insights about TV programming. The book draws on an awesomely replete memory supplied by decades worth of watching. (Want a list of every sitcom featuring an absent mom or dad? It's here.) The occasion that merits dredging up this stuff is the latest wave of congressional hand wringing over the violence quotient on television, which crested with the V-chip proposal.

Most V-chip opponents are libertarians who make their stand at the top of the slippery slope of censorship. Leonard, on the other hand, constructs his argument around a vigorous defense of what's good in TV: "However much a creature of the fast-buck media monopolies and quarterly dividend greedhead crowd, [it] is full of surprising gravity and grace." While TV is an artifact of a larger culture, he argues, it is often kinder and gentler, more likely to "welcome diversity and difference, more impatient with the routine brutalities of a master class and a mass society, more of a community than an agglomeration of market segments and seething sects." In right-wing snarlings about TV's liberal tilt, Leonard finds a provocative response to the congressional Uriah Heeps: If TV hasn't made us all liberals, why should it make us all violent?

Leonard has similarly crisp-to-cranky retorts for sociologists and culture critics who frown upon television. But he doesn't bother to argue with them in their own language; he doesn't believe you'll ever be able to quantify TV's social effects. Rather, as a cultivated intellectual committed to a personal voice, Leonard draws from the stuff on the screen for his cultural judgments.

With the help of that rarity in TV criticism, historical perspective, Leonard examines shows about crime (a long, obsessive tradition of serial-killer stories), AIDS (programs that build empathy), abortion (TV mostly runs scared), and dozens of other themes. But, in what may be a casualty of professional life—in which critics face mountains of videotapes rather than experience real-time TV—he is curiously uninterested in the short (and short-short) commercial, TV's unique formal contribution to storytelling. Nor is he much concerned with television's proliferating screens, even though the stories TV tells these days are often intended for viewers who are watching several channels at once, or who tune in only for the action sequence.

You can object to these lapses, and you can certainly argue with many of Leonard's pungent judgments. But his example is stimulating. Go ahead, think about TV. It can't hurt, and it sure beats letting the Senate do it for you. ◀

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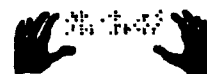
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*Continued from page 40*

I want to know how Susie's early Bolshevik training led her to where she is now, or didn't. She says candidly that it's the backbone of her politics. It's shaped her view of pornography, for example. "Class consciousness is the key to understanding the bogus difference between erotica and pornography," she says. "You already understand how the ruling class runs the propaganda game, how one thing gets called 'great art' and another is considered 'craft,' or 'trash,' or nothing at all."

She's not the only sex radical with a socialist history, she says: "The pro-sex feminist intellectual movement of the early '80s—the people who were challenging feminist orthodoxy on what was appropriate sex—was led theoretically by folks who had been either socialists, or profoundly influenced by the New Left and Marxism, as opposed to all the cultural feminists who were influenced by separatism and the notion of the ultimate discrimination in life being the patriarchy. Our meeting places were in socialist bookstores like Modern Times. When we started *On Our Backs*, the only bookstores that would carry us were socialist and anarchist, along with a handful of gay bookstores run by gay men. We were banned from the classic feminist bookstores at the beginning."

Of course, not all '70s socialists were sex-friendly. Susie makes an interesting connection with the later pornography wars: "One of the things I hated about all the Maoists and the Strict Trotskyists and CPers was their completely reactionary politics about sex. They were like fundamentalists in so many ways! Ultimately, the folks most influenced by either separatism or Maoism ended up being the backbone of the anti-porn movement, and I think it's because of the incredible puritanical history of both those philosophies."

Susie believes the right's aggressiveness has led to far-reaching retrenchment on key feminist issues. "I see people who are pro-choice pushed back into a position where we feel we have to be apologetic," she says. "We get defensive about our abortions. We feel like we have to give the world's worst case for having one: death, mental retardation, rape. Remember back in the early days of the abortion movement, when a slew of women published a big ad in the *New York Times* saying they'd all had abortions? That wouldn't happen today. I wanted to talk about my abortions—plural—to bring some feeling to something that a lot of people feel numb about."

One of Susie's more appealing qualities is her courage to slaughter sacred cows. In one of my favorite parts of the book, Susie takes on religion—and not just the Pat Robertson variety. The chapter, she says, grew out of an online discussion about religious beliefs and sexuality. "I felt like people in the conversation who were agnostic or atheists or Jewish or Buddhist—everyone not from a Christian background—were walking on eggshells not to send the traditional Christian group into pieces," she says. "At some point, I just came bounding out with my cheese ball remark."

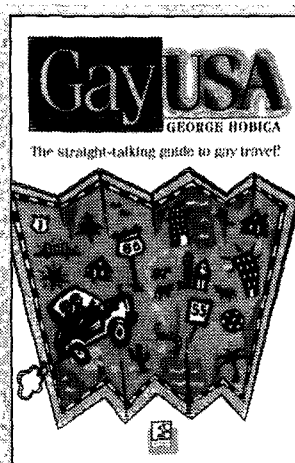
A form of this remark appears in Chapter Two: "I do

feel superior to deeply religious people. ... The true believers might as well be worshipping a cheese ball as far as I'm concerned." Susie admits that, as political strategy—coalition-building and all that—this is not the best tack. But she's fed up. "I resent having to button my lip about being a nonbeliever or a queer or a woman who's had abortions, or whatever, just so they can see that we have other things in common. Why isn't it their initiative to accommodate?"

Some of the book's best reads are about how Susie's own thinking has changed—she wasn't born a sexual know-it-all. Like others, she had to overcome her initial modem phobia in order to investigate cybersex. Of course, she jumped in with characteristic aplomb. She defends sex with strangers, including those you meet on the Net. She tells the story of a famous Cyber Cad, one Carl Bailey Jones, who bilked a bunch of women both romantically and financially. She got it on with Jones herself, before he was outed, and although he was a Cyber Puppy—"reckless and awkward and absorbed with his bone"—he fit the needs of that moment.

So what is the sexual state of the union? Susie Bright says it's difficult to be optimistic—and yet she is. "What the puritans and their gong shows don't seem to realize is that sex is inevitable," she writes. "Someone is always trying to shut someone else up when it comes to sex, trying to keep it 'out of the home,' when it should be perfectly obvious that sex is home, *chez nous*."

Jane Slaughter is a freelance writer living in Detroit.



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# Ask the sexpert

By Jane Slaughter

I often brag that I used to be roommates with Susie Sexpert, née Susie Bright, when she lived in Detroit a hundred years ago and we were both members of the International Socialists. She was 18, and I, oh so much older, thought she was cute but wet behind the ears. The most sexually out-there thing I knew about her was that she was having an affair with a married man.

Sue moved away, and I didn't hear any news till I bumped into her in 1983 on a trip to Oakland. "What are you doing?" I squealed, as women do after separations. "I'm working in a vibrator store," she said straight-faced.

Long a victim of Midwesternization, I goggled. So did any Detroiters I later told the story to. A vibrator store! But when I spilled the news to Bay Area people, they just said, "Oh, yeah, the one on 22nd."

Susie is famous now, an author, lecturer, columnist for *Penthouse Forum*, founder of the lesbian magazine *On Our Backs* and all-around sexpert. Now comes her fifth book, *Susie Bright's Sexual State of the Union* (published by Simon & Schuster), after *Susie Sexpert's Lesbian Sex World* and her *Virtual Sex World Reader*. It's a delight for anyone who likes seeing their favorite punching bags beat up on (take that, Jerry Falwell!), needs a little midlife refresher on what we were talking about back in the '60s, or just enjoys an excellent zinger.

Susie is an Amazon in the face of an anti-sex backlash that's reached even into the left. I don't mean the anti-porn feminists, but the rest of us who've got lazy about resisting the stupid scare messages (anti-drug, pro-chastity) that dominate the airwaves and thought waves. Sometimes we justify this on the grounds that we have children now. It's good to get a kick in the pants.

Susie takes on the usual targets: anti-abortionists, family-values political hucksters, queer-baiters, censors who want to make the Internet safe for 7-year-olds. Some of this is old hat to many of us. We already know, for example, that outlawing abortion is less about the fetus than about controlling women. But Susie says it better than

most, and she tells me (from a Seattle hotel room on tour) that she is also trying to write for new folks.

"When I was writing the book, I thought, there are my old readers, who are quite sophisticated. They don't need a how-to-turn-your-vibrator-on recitation from me," Susie says. "Then there are people in an Oklahoma shopping mall who will see my work for the first time. How do I reach them?"

If they've got the nerve to buy the book, she's done pretty well. One of the great things about Susie is that she's so reassuring. She's a woman with a mission: Everyone should enjoy sex. To all the repressed people out there, to the ones who are ashamed of their desires, and to those who just haven't got good information, she counsels in the book, "What turns you on may not match your artistic values, your romantic choices in real life, your political views, but it is just as much a part of you as any other aspect. It's not a defect or a weakness, it's your intuitive ability to take all that's unbearable and crazy and unspeakable about life and turn it into juice—eroticism." Something every Oklahoma teenager needs to hear.

*Continued on page 39*

